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THE  
**BRITISH PLUTARCH,**

CONTAINING

**THE LIVES**

OF THE MOST EMINENT

DIVINES,  
PATRIOTS,  
STATESMEN,  
WARRIORS,

PHILOSOPHERS,  
POETS,  
AND  
ARTISTS,

OF

**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRÉLAND,**

FROM

**THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

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*A New Edition,*

RE-ARRANGED AND ENRICHED WITH SEVERAL

*ADDITIONAL LIVES,*

BY THE

**REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.**

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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*IN SIX VOLUMES.*

**VOL. IV.**

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Triumph, my Britain! Thou hast *those* to show,  
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe. (JONSON.)

——Τίς ξυγησεται;

(Æsch. 'Επλ. 1π1 Θη6. 431.)

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1-22-45





THE  
**BRITISH PLUTARCH.**

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**SIR MATTHEW HALE.\***

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[1609—1676.]

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**I**T has been considered as no small argument in favour of Christianity, that it has found among its ablest defenders those, who cannot be supposed to have been influenced by any other motive than a conviction of its truth. To the objections of the infidel, founded upon the selfishness of its general advocates, not only the learning and the genius, but (perhaps, still more) the disinterestedness of Newton, and Boyle, and Locke have invariably supplied a powerful answer. May it not then be esteemed a considerable advantage to the cause, to be able to include the name of Sir Matthew Hale in this illustrious list? His admirable sagacity and strict impartiality in the investigation of truth, and his habitual

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *General Biographical Dictionary*; *Biographia Britannica*; Burnet's *Life of Hale*; and Thirlwall's Edition of his 'Moral and Religious Works.'

diligence in examining the force of evidence, confer a peculiar and irresistible force upon his testimony. Men, who might peruse the writings of ecclesiastics upon the subject with a prejudiced eye, cannot be insensible to the authority of one, whose natural constitution, profession, and integrity alike raised him above suspicion; and who was not less distinguished by the solidity of his judgement and the acuteness of his discrimination, than by his constant strain of industry, piety, and virtue.\*

\* I cannot refrain from attaching in a note a most splendid passage from Mr. Erskine's Speech upon 'Paine's Age of Reason,' though perhaps familiar to many of my readers: "—But it seems this is an Age of Reason, and the time and the person are at last arrived, that are to dissipate the errors, which have overspread the past generations of ignorance. The believers in Christianity are many; but it belongs to the few, that are wise, to correct their credulity. Belief is an act of reason; and superior reason may, therefore, dictate to the weak. In running the mind along the list of sincere and devout Christians, I cannot help lamenting that NEWTON had not lived to this day, to have had his shallowness filled up with this new flood of light. But the subject is too awful for irony. I will speak plainly, and directly. Newton was a Christian.: Newton, whose mind burst forth from the fetters fastened by nature upon our finite conceptions; Newton, whose science was truth, and the foundation of whose knowledge of it was philosophy, not those visionary and arrogant presumptions which too often usurp it's name, but philosophy resting upon the basis of mathematics which like figures cannot lie; Newton, who carried the line and rule to the uttermost barriers of creation, and explored the principle, by which all created matter exists and is held together.

"But this extraordinary man, in the mighty reach of his mind, overlooked perhaps the errors, which a minuter examination of the created things on this earth might have taught him. What shall then be said of the great Mr. BOYLE, who looked into the organic structure of all matter, even to the inanimate

**'This ornament of the English Bench,**

————— ' in whom

Our British Thermis gloried with just cause,  
Immortal Hale! for deep discernment praised  
And sound integrity, not more than famed  
For sanctity of manners undefil'd ;'

and who has been pronounced by a legal authority

substances which the foot treads upon? Such a man may be supposed to have been equally qualified with Mr. Paine, to

' Look through Nature up to Nature's God :'

Yet the result of all his contemplations was, the most confirmed and devout belief in all, which the other holds in contempt as despicable and drivelling superstition.

" But this error might, perhaps, arise from a want of due attention to the foundations of human judgement, and the structure of that understanding which God has given us for the investigation of truth. Let that question be answered by Mr. Locke, who to the highest pitch of devotion and adoration was a Christian : Mr. Locke, whose office was to detect the errors of thinking by going up to the very fountains of thought, and to direct into the proper track of reasoning the devious mind of man, by showing him it's whole process from the first perceptions of sense to the last conclusions of ratiocination ; putting a rein upon false opinion, by practical rules for the conduct of human judgement.

" But ' these men,' it may be said, ' were only deep thinkers, and lived in their closets unaccustomed to the traffic of the world, and to the laws which practically regulate mankind.' Gentlemen, in the place where we now sit to administer the justice of this great country, the never-to-be-forgotten Sir MATTHEW HALE presided ; whose faith in Christianity is an exalted commentary upon it's truth and reason, whose life was a glorious example of it's fruits, and whose justice, drawn from the pure fountain of the Christian Dispensation, will be in all ages a subject of the highest reverence and admiration.

" But it is said by the author, that ' the Christian fable is

“ one of the greatest Judges that ever sat in Westminster Hall, as competent to express as he was able

but the tale of the more ancient superstitions of the world, and may be easily detected by a proper understanding of the mythologies of the heathens.’ Did MILTON understand those mythologies? Was he less versed, than Mr. Paine, in the superstitions of the world? No. They were the subject of his immortal song: and though shut out from all recurrence to them, he poured them forth from the stores of a memory rich with all that man ever knew, and laid them in their order as the illustration of real and exalted faith, the unquestionable source of that fervid genius which has cast a kind of shade upon all the after-works of man :

‘ He pass’d the flaming bounds of place and time—  
The living throne, the sapphire blaze,  
Where angels tremble while they gaze ;  
He saw, but blasted with excess of light,  
Closed his eyes in endless night.’

But it was the light of the body only, that was extinguished: the ‘ celestial light shone inward,’ and enabled him to

—— ‘ justify the ways of God to man.’

The result of his thinking was, nevertheless, not quite the same as the author’s before us. The mysterious Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour (which this work blasphemes in words so wholly unfit for the mouth of a Christian, or for the ear of a Court of Justice, that I dare not and will not give them utterance) Milton made the grand conclusion of his ‘ Paradise Lost,’ the rest from his finished labours, and the ultimate hope, expectation, and glory of the world :

‘ A virgin is his mother, but his sire  
The Power of the Most High ; he shall ascend  
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign  
With earth’s wide bounds, his glory with the heavens.’

“ The immortal poet, having thus put into the mouth of the

to conceive," \* was the only child of Robert Hale,† Esq. Barrister, who threw up his practice at the bar,

Angel the prophecy of man's redemption, follows it with that solemn and beautiful admonition addressed in the poem to our first parent, but intended as an address to his posterity through all generations :

‘ This having learn’d, thou hast attain’d the sum  
Of wisdom : hope no higher, though all the stars  
Thou knew’st by name, and all th’ ethereal powers,  
All secrets of the deep, all Nature’s works,  
Or works of God in heaven, air, earth, or sea ;  
And all the riches of this world enjoy’d’st,  
And all the rule, one empire. Only add  
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable : add faith ;  
Add virtue, patience, temperance ; add love,  
By name to come call’d ‘ Charity,’ the soul  
Of all the rest. Then wilt thou not be loth  
To leave this paradise, but shalt possess  
A paradise within thee, happier far.’

“ Thus you find all that is great or wise or splendid or illustrious among created beings, all the minds gifted beyond ordinary nature, if not inspired by it’s universal Author for the advancement and dignity of the world, though divided by distant ages and by clashing opinions, yet joining as it were in one sublime chorus to celebrate the truths of Christianity, and laying upon it’s holy altars the never-fading offerings of their immortal wisdom.”

\* East’s Reports, V. 17.

† The father of Robert Hale was an eminent clothier at Wotton Under Edge, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents, and had given to the poor several parcels of land enjoyed by them to this day. His wife, the mother of Matthew Hale, was a Poyntz of Alderly, descended from the noble family of Poyntz at Acton. On his death, out of his small estate of 100*l.* *per ann.* he gave one fifth to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed and increased, with this regulation, that ‘ it should be distributed among such poor housekeepers as did not receive the alms of the parish :’ for ‘ to give it to such as did, was only to

because he could not regard what is called ‘giving colour in pleadings,’ and some other chicanes common to the profession, as reconcilable to the scrupulous veracity and justice required in a Christian ; \*

save so much money to the rich, who were bound to provide for them.’

\* In Mr. Edgeworth’s admirable work, on ‘Professional Education,’ occur the following judicious remarks :

“ Whether he should defend a cause which he knows to be unjust, or a client whom he believes to be guilty, is a question which every man should consider and determine for himself before he goes to the bar. He cannot take a better time to settle it, than while he is attending courts and trials, where he will continually see examples, that must show him the necessity of forming rules for his own conduct. There is a certain sort of *morality by courtesy*, which bodies of men establish for the mutual ease and convenience of their conscience and their interest; and there is a jocular sort of convivial wit, which is current among professional latitudinarians; and which sometimes imposes upon those who have really some conscience. By hearing certain breaches of common honesty and certain arts of deception spoken of every day without any censure, and even in a stile of jovial triumph, young men insensibly confound their notions, and deaden their sense of right and wrong. Instead of judging themselves by the universal standard of morality, they are satisfied if they do nothing that is counted dishonourable by the body corporate, into which they have entered.

“ In the heyday of youthful spirits, in the flow of convivial conversation, in the bustle and triumph of professional business and success a man might be deaf to the small still voice of conscience ; but it speaks in thunder in retirement, and in the declining years of life. It is said, that a celebrated Barrister, after he had retired from the bar, was observed to grow extremely melancholy ; and one day, when a friend noticed the dejection of his countenance, and inquired ‘ what he was thinking of ? ’ he replied, “ I am thinking how many honest families I have sacrificed to *Nisi Prius* victories.”

“ To prevent the irremediable misery of such a reflexion, a man of feeling and sense, who intends to practise at the bar,

retired into the country, and lived upon the income of a small estate at Alderly in Gloucestershire, where his son Matthew was born November 1, 1609. Both parents dying while he was a child, the care of his education devolved upon his maternal uncle Poyntz, who consigned him to the care of his next kinsman, Antony Kingscot, Esq. By him he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Staunton, the puritanical vicar of Wotton Under Edge, till the year 1626, when he was sent to Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Here, he became a great proficient in learning; and continued for some time very assiduous at his studies. But some strolling players arriving at the university, his manners were corrupted by frequenting theatrical amusements; and he fell into many levities, which for a time turned him aside from his literary pursuits.\* He now began to learn manly exercises; and being robust and active, succeeded so well in fencing and the management of military weapons, that he was induced to accompany Mr. Sedgwick his tutor,

will begin by determining what he ought and what he ought not to do in his professional character: he will not leave the decision of his conduct to chance, to the cry of a party, or the half-inebriated intellects of a set of jovial companions. He will observe, by what rules the best of his profession have governed themselves; he will consider, on what their rules are founded; he will examine what is most for the interest of society, as well as for the honour of individuals; and by this he will be guided, free from vain scruples or profligate temerity."

\* This, however, is denied by Mr. Stephens, who published his 'Contemplations:' and with regard to his love of the theatre, it was not long before he found it relaxed his habits of seriousness, disconcerted his plans of study, and above all (as he apprehended) hazarded the loosening, if not the eradicating, of his religious principles: upon which he made a solemn vow, during his whole life most strictly observed, 'never to see a play more.'

another noted puritan,\* who was appointed chaplain to Lord Vere (then serving in the Low Countries, under the Prince of Orange) with the intention of offering himself to that nobleman as a volunteer. But from this purpose he was diverted by a law-suit commenced against him, for part of his paternal inheritance, by Sir William Whitmore; in consequence of which having consulted Serjeant Glanville† upon the case, he was persuaded by that gentleman, who had observed his extraordinary capacity, to apply himself to the law as a profession. Hale took his advice, and entered himself a member of Lincoln's Inn, in 1629.

From this time, he renounced his disorderly com-

\* See Wood's '*Ath. Oxon.*' II. 138.

† "Of this eminent lawyer (says Burnet) I shall mention one passage, which ought never to be forgotten: His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother; but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him that was his second son. Upon his death his eldest son, finding that what he had before looked on as the threatenings of an angry father was now but too certain, became melancholy; and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will, so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any estate that was gone from him. But his brother, observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him with many of his friends together with a feast, and after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was surprised to find it full of writings. So he told them that 'he was now to do, what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother: and, therefore, he freely restored to him the whole estate.' "



pany, and with it every kind of dissipation; studying (it is said) for many years, in order to make up for the time which he had lost by idleness, at the rate of sixteen hours a day. He had, previously, been extremely expensive in his apparel: but this he now so wholly neglected, that he was even seized by a press-gang as a fit person to serve his Majesty!

His resolution to reform his life was confirmed by another extraordinary incident: having left town with a party of students on an excursion of pleasure, one of them drank so much wine, that he fell down before them to all appearance dead, and was only with great difficulty recovered. Upon this occasion Hale retired into another room, and fervently prayed to God, not only 'that his friend might be spared, but that he himself also might be forgiven for having countenanced such excess;' after which he made a solemn vow, that he would never again drink a toast to his dying day.' And he religiously kept his word.

While pursuing his studies, he not only punctually attended the Hall during the term, but also continued his regularity throughout the vacation. It was only by indefatigable application, indeed, that he could have acquired so vast a stock of knowledge. He left his bed early, was at no moment idle, scarcely ever conversed about the passing events of the day, or corresponded except upon necessary business or matter of literature, and spent very little time at his meals; never attending public feasts, and giving entertainments (in literal obedience to his Saviour's injunctions) only to the poor. He always rose from dinner with an appetite, and able to enter with an unclouded mind upon any business, however serious or abstruse.

At the same time, in the duties of religion he was so exemplary, that “for six and thirty years,” as Burnet informs us, “he never once failed going to church on the Lord’s Day.”\* This observation he made, when an ague first interrupted that constant course; and he reflected upon it, as an acknowledgement of God’s great goodness to him in so long a continuance of his health.

Of his strict account of time the reader will best judge by his scheme of a diary, set down in the same simple way, in which he drew it up for his own private use.

“MORNING. I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life.

II. To renew my covenant with God in Christ,  
1. By renewed acts of faith, receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation; 2. Resolution of being one of his people doing him allegiance.

III. Adoration and prayer.

\* On this day, says Burnet elsewhere, beside his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances; and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours, which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts. He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published: he never corrected them, but laid them by when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflexions in them; so that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These were subsequently published, under the title of ‘Contemplations,’ in 2 vols. octavo.

IV. Setting a watch over my own infirmities and passions, over the snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis.*

DAY EMPLOYMENT. There must be an employment, two kinds :

I. Our ordinary calling; to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ, though never so mean. Colos. iii. Here faithfulness, diligence, cheerfulness. Not to over-lay myself with more business than I can bear.

II. Our spiritual employments; mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in this day.

REFRESHMENTS. I. Meat and drink; moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.

II. Recreations; 1. Not our business: 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

IF ALONE. I. Beware of wandering, vain, lustful thoughts; fly from thyself, rather than entertain these.

II. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable: view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul, the coming of Christ, thy own mortality; it will make thee humble and watchful.

COMPANY. Do good to them: Use God's name reverently: Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill example: Receive good from them, if more knowing.

EVENING. Cast up the accounts of the day: If aught amiss, beg pardon; gather resolution of more vigilance: If well, bless the mercy and grace of God, that hath supported thee."

Not satisfied with the law-publications then extant, he was extremely diligent in investigating ancient records; and from these, and collections out of other volumes, he composed a valuable common-place book. His researches into antiquity were aided by

the learned Selden, who had early in life formed an acquaintance with him, assisted if not suggested his inquiries in mathematics, physics, history, chronology, anatomy, surgery, philosophy, and above all, divinity; and, finally, appointed him one of his executors.\* Noy, the Attorney General, likewise directed his studies; and such an intimacy subsisted between the tutor and his pupil, that the latter was usually denominated 'Young Noy.'

He set himself much, says his biographer, to the study of the Roman law: and, though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge; yet he often said, that 'the true ground and reasons of law were so well delivered in the Digests, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there,' and therefore he lamented much that it was so little studied in England. He looked on readiness in arithmetic, as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment; and acquired it to such a degree, that he would often on the sudden, and afterward on the bench, resolve very hard questions which had puzzled the best accomptants about town.

With a soul elevated above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally 'the root of all evil,' he did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for in common cases, when those who came to ask his counsel gave him a price, he used to return half, and so made ten shillings his fee, in ordinary matters that did not

\* One of the others was Mr. Vaughan, whom he had highly valued in early life, and who became afterward Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

require much time or study. If he saw that a cause was unjust, he for a great while would not meddle any farther in it, except to give his advice that it was so. If the parties after that would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice: if he found the cause doubtful, or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to compromise the business. Yet afterward he abated much of the scrupulosity, which he had about causes that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion: two causes were brought to him, which by the ignorance of the party or their attorney were so ill represented to him, that they seemed extremely bad; but, inquiring more narrowly into them, he found them to be really very good and just. In consequence of this, he slackened much of his former strictness, in refusing to undertake causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading, he abhorred those too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often imposed upon. Adopting professionally the same sincerity which distinguished the other parts of his life, he used to say, ‘It was as great a dishonour as a man could be capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought.’ All this he ascribed to the immeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed otherwise born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled without accepting any reward for his pains, though offered

jointly by both parties after the agreement was made; for he said, ‘ In those cases he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money.’ If they told him, ‘ He lost much of his time in considering their business, and therefore ought to be acknowledged for it,’ his answer was, ‘ Can I spend my time better, than to make people friends? Must I have no time allowed me to do good in?’

He had been called to the bar a short time before the open rupture between Charles I. and his parliament; a juncture, when it was extremely difficult for the gentlemen of the robe to consult at once their independence and their safety. Hale, however, had read (for he translated) the Life of Atticus, who during the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, and those of Antony and Brutus, conducted himself with such address, that he was esteemed and caressed by all parties; and to his two favourite maxims he closely adhered, “ To engage in no faction,” but “ Constantly to favour and relieve the oppressed.” \* Thus he ingratiated himself with the Royalists, by extending his assistance to distressed cavaliers; while by his integrity and abilities in his profession he procured the esteem of the Parliamentarians, so that he was employed by both. He was one of the counsel for

\* In a subsequent Life, some suggestions are made less to the advantage of this celebrated character. But those, who (unlike the Athenian lawgiver) are disposed to view neutrality in turbulent times with indulgence, may read with pleasure the Marquis of Halifax’s ‘ Character of a Trimmer.’

In fulfilment of the second maxim, Hale often deposited considerable sums in the hands of a worthy Royalist, who knew the necessities of his party, that he might distribute them at his discretion without either disclosing the names or the donations to his generous principal.

the Earl of Strafford, for Archbishop Laud, and for Charles I.;\* but his Majesty not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court, he had no opportunity of displaying his eloquence in the royal cause. On the other hand, in the defence of Lord Craven† he pleaded with such strength of argument, that the Attorney General menaced him for appearing against the government; upon which he boldly replied, that ‘he was pleading in defence of those laws, which the government had declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty to his client; so that he was not to be daunted by threatenings.’ In 1643, he took the Covenant,‡ and

\* This royal clientship however, though stated by Burnet, is reasonably questioned by Thirlwall, from its being unconfirmed by any other writer. It does not, indeed, appear that Charles called in any lawyer to his assistance.

† He was counsel, also, for the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel.

‡ Of this measure, at first sight so inconsistent with his principles as a Churchman, if not with his feelings as a Christian, Mr. Thirlwall has given an able vindication, pp. 130, 131. He candidly and justly owns however, that for his subsequent conduct in taking the Engagement (an obligation, directly contradictory both in letter and spirit to his previous acceptance of the Covenant) he is at a loss, with all his admiration of Hale’s character, and all his conviction of his integrity, for reasons to exculpate him from the charges of pusillanimity, selfishness, or versatility. Some account of the Instrument in question, which so strongly marked the complexion of the times and the religious sentiments of the prevailing party, with the Instrument itself (as not unlikely to interest, at least, younger readers, who may not have had an opportunity of perusing it) is subjoined:

In 1661, we may premise from Rapin, the two Houses of Parliament ordered that this document should be burned by the common hangman (which was performed with great rejoicings) as, also, the Act mentioned below for subscribing the Engagement ‘against a King and a House of Peers.’

sat several times with other laymen in the assembly of divines. He was then in great esteem with the

“ In 1643, after the flames of civil war had broken out, and the King and the Parliament had made an appeal to the sword, the latter published an ordinance, calling an Assembly of Divines and Laymen to be held at Westminster, to be consulted by both Houses, for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England. This measure was adopted for the purpose of smoothing the way for the reception of the Commissioners from the General Assembly of Scotland, and treating upon the subject of an union of the Churches. The two nations entered into a mutual League and Covenant, and the Assembly of Divines were ordered by both Houses to frame an exhortation to the taking of the Covenant, to be publicly read in every church. It was directed to be printed and published, and appointed to be taken by all the members of parliament and the Assembly of Divines, which was performed with great solemnity.

“ A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion; the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland :

“ We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included ; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemy of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late and at this time increased and exercised ; whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland are present and public testimonies : we have (now at last) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings for the pre-



parliament, and employed by them as a lawyer upon many important affairs. In particular, he was ap-

serva- tion of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times and the example of God's people in other nations, after a mature deliberation resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself with our hands lifted up to the most high God do swear :

“ 1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly through the grace of God endeavour in our several places and callings the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government against our common enemies, the reformation of religion in the kingdom of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

“ 2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of person, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schisms, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the Three Kingdoms.

“ 3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy in our several vocations endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the Kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the Kingdom; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our

pointed one of the Commissioners to treat on the reduction of Oxford. In this capacity he performed

loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

“ 4. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making factions or parties among the people contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

“ 5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these Kingdoms, desired in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments; we shall each one of us, according to our place and interests, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

“ 6. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the Kingdoms assist and defend all those who enter into this League and Covenant, in maintaining and pursuing thereof: and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction; whether to make defection on the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdom, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we ourselves are not able to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal or make it known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do, as in the sight of God.

“ And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins and

a signal service to the republic of letters, by prevailing upon General Fairfax to spare the University with all its ancient treasures of learning.

Though he sincerely lamented the fate of Charles I., he yet thought it his duty to take the Engagement to the Commonwealth; and, in 1652, he was elected by the parliament with some others to revise and reform the laws of England.

Cromwell, upon his appointment to the Protectorship, rightly judging that the countenance of Mr.

provocations against God and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, and the fruits thereof, we profess and declare before God and the world our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms especially; that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding among us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves and all others under our power and charge both in public and in private, and in all duties we owe to God and man to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit to this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of Anti-Christian tyranny, to join in the same or like Association or Covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."

Hale would give weight to his government,\* never ceased his importunities, till he had prevailed upon

\* And also take off an intrepid barrister, who might powerfully thwart his views. He had already pleaded for the eleven members, whom as most actively hostile to his views, Cromwell had daringly stimulated the army to accuse. Hale's scruples about accepting a commission from an usurper were quieted by his considering, that 'the administration of justice and the protection of property were at all times necessary:' and he was greatly pressed besides by many royalist lawyers, particularly Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Sir Geoffrey Palmer; as well as justified by the opinions of Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Henchman, subsequently promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London. Cromwell, indeed, had declared, that 'if he might not govern by red gowns, he was resolved to govern by red coats.'

On entering upon his employment, he drew up the following paper for his guidance:

*Things necessary to be continually had in remembrance:*

1. That, in the administration of justice, I am entrusted for God, the King, and Country; and therefore,
2. That it be done, 1. Uprightly; 2. Deliberately; 3. Resolutely.
3. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength, but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.
4. That, in the execution of justice, I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.
5. That I be wholly intent upon the business that I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts, as unseasonable, and interruptions.
6. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgement at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.
7. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced, till the whole be heard.
8. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity, yet to consider that there is also a pity due to the country.
9. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgement.
10. That I be not biassed with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.

him to accept the office of one of the Justices of the Common Bench, as it was then called: for which purpose he was made by writ a Serjeant in January, 1654. He had great scruples, however, concerning the legality of the authority, under which he was to exercise his new office; and, after he had gone two or three circuits, being told by Cromwell (who, upon his dismissing a jury specially returned by himself, resented his sturdy support of the dignity of the laws and the rights of the people) that ‘he was not fit to be a judge,’ he replied, ‘It was very true,’\* and

11. That popular or court applause, or distaste, have no influence into any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.

12. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rules of justice.

13. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.

14. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.

15. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity is justice.

16. To abhor all private solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever in matters depending.

17. To charge my servants, 1. Not to interpose in any business whatsoever; 2. Not to take more than their known fees; 3. Not to give any undue precedence to causes; 4. Not to recommend counsel.

18. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.

\* ‘Who can read with indifference (asks an able writer) the reasons which, with his usual modesty and sincerity, he assigns for declining the judicial office, and in which he represents himself as having “too much pity, clemency, and tenderness in cases of life, which may prove an unserviceable temper for bustling?”’

—— “*Mitis precibus, pietatis abundans,*  
“*Pœnæ parcus erat.*”

(Claud. de IV. Cons. Honor. 113.)

thenceforward refused to try criminal causes. He was the more readily excused, we may be assured, because he acted with so much firmness and integrity, in opposition to the power from which he derived his commission. Of this Dr. Burnet, in his 'Life of Hale,' produces one instance, which ought to be transmitted as a mirror for judges to the latest posterity. Soon after he was placed on the bench, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln

Yet so far did he share in the credulity of his contemporaries about witchcraft, that in the Suffolk Sessions (held at Bury St. Edmund's) of 1664, he not only condemned two widows of Lowestoff, but suffered judgement to be executed upon them: and even the learned Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote against 'Vulgar Errors' (see a Note on the Life of Sir Thomas More, I. 90.) is said upon this occasion to have declared himself in court clearly of opinion, that 'the fits of the patients were natural, but heightened by the Devil co-operating with the malice of the witches;' confirming that opinion by a similar case in Denmark, and so far influencing the jury that the two women were hanged.

Sir Matthew Hale was too wise to be pedantic, and too honest to be artificial. Knowledge, reflexion, and a lively sense of morality and religion had elevated his mind far above the petty gratifications, which high office supplies to the weakness of vanity and the restlessness of ambition. But I suspect that, in order to sooth some unquiet misgivings and some tender yearning of his soul, he by frequent efforts of recollection summoned to his aid those maxims, which might lighten the burthen of his painful office as a Judge. Hence, in his Contemplations Moral and Divine, we read, "There must be duly considered the difference between a private person and a public person, whether minister or magistrate. The former, namely the private person, humility must teach him compassion, charitableness, gentleness: but the latter, being entrusted in a public ministration, doth *alterius vices agere*; his personal humility, as a private man, must teach him to be charitable, but yet not to be remiss or unfaithful in the exercise of his office."

Assizes against a soldier of the garrison, for the murder of a townsman who had been of the King's party. The latter was in a field with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, upon which the soldier informed him, he was acting contrary to an order made by the Protector, 'that no royalist should carry arms,' and would have forced his gun from him; but he, being stronger than his assailant, threw him down, and having beaten him, left him. The soldier, telling a comrade how he had been used, prevailed on him to assist him in taking revenge. Accordingly, they both watched the unsuspecting citizen, upon his return to the town, again demanded his gun which was again refused, and while his new foe was struggling with him, the other came behind, and running his sword into his body killed him on the spot. This happened in the time of the Assizes, so that they were both tried soon after the fact. Against the comrade there was no proof of malice prepense: he was, therefore, found guilty only of manslaughter, and burnt in the hand. But the other, on the clearest evidence, was convicted of murder; and though Colonel Whalley, Governor of the garrison, urged that 'the man was killed for having disobeyed the Protector's order, and that the soldier had only done his duty,' the Judge paid little regard either to his reasoning, or to some menaces which he threw out; not only passing sentence against him, but ordering execution to be done so suddenly, that there could be no time to apply for a reprieve.

He was at this time, we learn from the same authority, elected a member of parliament (for there being then no House of Lords, Judges might be

chosen to sit in the House of Commons), and he attended it with the design of obstructing the mad and wicked projects then set on foot by two parties, who had very different principles and ends.

On one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brainsick, designed they knew not what; being resolved to pull down a standing ministry of the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in it's room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called 'the Kingdom of Christ, or of his Saints : ' many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions that all the sober men of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who to all their other ill principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle course; for, as he would engage for neither side, so he with many more worthy men came to parliaments more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing that the inclinations for the Royal Family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in agitation would ferment to that happy resolution, in which they determined in May, 1660. And, therefore, all that could be then done was, to oppose the ill designs of both parties,



the enthusiasts as well as the usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation: so he took his province to himself to show the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and he did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed, that was soon done), but stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice, till the Protector died; but then he both refused the mournings that were sent to him and his servants for the funeral, and likewise to accept the commission tendered to him by Richard Cromwell; alleging, 'that he could no longer act under such authority.' In the parliament convened by the new Protector in January, 1659, he was elected one of the burgesses for the University of Oxford, in gratitude chiefly perhaps for the service which he had formerly rendered that body. In the Healing Parliament of 1660, which recalled Charles II., he sat as representative for the county of Gloucester.\*

Averse as he was from those principles, says Mr. Serjeant Runnington, which actuated the government of Cromwell, he nevertheless avoided the extre-

\* To procure voices, his competitor had spent nearly 1000*l.*, a great sum to be employed that way *in those days!* while Hale had not only been at no cost (far, indeed, from soliciting the station, he had long withstood those, who pressed him to appear) but even declined promising to appear till three days before the election; yet such was the love and esteem of him in the neighbourhood, that he was preferred.

mities, into which the temerity of the loyalists too often precipitated them. Faction and party he equally despised; nay, attached as he was to monarchy and his Sovereign, upon the Restoration (of which he was a considerable promoter) he was unwilling to receive Charles without reasonable restrictions; conceiving this to be, of all other incidents, the most opportune to limit that prerogative, which had given rise to such recent and unparalelled calamities.

We are taught under every form of government to apprehend usurpation, either from the abuse, or from the extension, of the executive power; and, though it be no advantage to a prince to enjoy more power than is consistent with the good of his subjects, yet this maxim is but a feeble security against the passions and the follies of men. Those who are entrusted with power in any degree are disposed, from the mere dislike of constraint, to remove opposition. Sensible of such truths, Hale moved the Commons that, 'a Committee might be appointed to look into the propositions which had been made, and the concessions which had been offered by the late King; that they might thence digest such propositions, as they should think fit to be sent over to the King.'

This motion, through the influence of Monk, failed of success. It showed, however, that Hale entertained a warm regard for the republic, a high respect for its laws, and that he was no friend to those opinions which tended to support the indefeasible right of prerogative. The motives, which determined the fate of this motion, were the very reverse of, and equally in extreme with, those which influenced the Commons against Charles I. The ge-

neral opinion now seemed to condemn all jealous capitulations with the Sovereign. Harassed with convulsions, men ardently wished for repose, and were terrified at the mention of negotiation or delay. Added to this, the passion for liberty, having produced such horrid commotions, began to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience.

Why Monk should disapprove the imposition of rational conditions, is not easily to be accounted for: he seemed resolved, however, that the crown he intended to restore should be conferred on the King free and unincumbered. He knew not, perhaps, that liberty is never in greater danger, than when we measure national felicity by the blessings which a prince may bestow, or by the mere tranquillity which may attend an equitable administration. The Sovereign may dazzle with his heroic qualities; he may protect his subjects in the enjoyment of every animal advantage or pleasure: but the benefits arising from liberty are of a different sort. They are not the effects of a virtue and of a goodness which operate in the breast of one man, but the communication of virtue itself to many, and such a distribution of functions in civil societies, as gives to numbers the exercise and occupations which pertain to their nature.

Charles, immediately after his restoration, came to the House of Peers, and in the most earnest terms pressed an act of general indemnity: urging not only 'the necessity of it, but the obligation of a promise which he had formerly given; a promise, which he would ever regard as sacred, since to that he probably owed the satisfaction of meeting his parliament.' This measure of the King, though irregular, was received with great satisfaction; and the Commons,

after some debate, appointed a Committee to forward the generous purpose.

Serjeant Hale had the honour of being nominated one of the Committee; and now, in the execution of this high trust, he exerted all the powers of his mind, and all the goodness of his heart, to terminate those evils which had too long and too necessarily prevailed. Prudence and humanity dictated, that the sooner the bill passed, the sooner the blessings of peace would be diffused. With an assiduity to be equalled only by his philanthropy, he framed, carried on, and supported the bill.

Within the space of a month after the Restoration, he was recalled to the degree of a Serjeant at Law by the royal writ, that of Cromwell being deemed illegal; and, upon settling the Courts of Westminster Hall in November, he was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer. When the Lord Chancellor Clarendon delivered to him his commission, he told him, ‘that if the King could have found an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none who deserved it so well.’\* In this station he continued eleven years, and highly raised the reputation and practice of his court by his invariable impartiality,† his indefatiga-

\* This was, precisely, the compliment paid by Louis XIV. to one of his Generals on making him a *Maréchal de France*; and it is repeated by Mr. Edgeworth, in his ‘Professional Education,’ as highly enhancing the value of the new dignity. p. 423.

† “I remember,” says Dryden, “a saying of King Charles II. on Sir Matthew Hale (who was, doubtless, an uncorrupt and upright man) that ‘his servants were sure to be cast on a trial, which was heard before him;’ not that he thought the Judge

ble diligence, and his great exactness in trials. The only complaint, indeed, which was made against

was possible to be bribed, but that his integrity might be too scrupulous, and that the causes of the Crown were always suspicious when the privileges of the subject were concerned."

The servility, insolence, and partiality (observes Thirlwall) to which Hale formed an honourable exception, of many of the Judges in this Monarch's reign present to the view a disgusting picture of the administration of public justice. What a striking contrast do they exhibit to the Judges, who grace the bench of the present day! The sobriety and gravity of their deportment, the patience and impartiality with which they poise the scales of justice between the rich and the poor, the King and the meanest of his subjects, cease to become the theme of admiration and applause, because they are now familiar and universally experienced.

They, however, who wish to appreciate the value and measure the extent of these political blessings, and calculate their importance to the security and preservation of the life, liberty, and property of the subject, ought to look back to the judicial proceedings of former times, and peruse the trials in which a Scroggs, a Howell, a Pemberton, and a Jeffreys presided.

The remark of Mr. Serjeant Rumington breathes such a spirit of constitutional liberty, so honourable to his profession as a lawyer, and to his feelings as an Englishman, that I am persuaded no apology is necessary for introducing it here.

To those who are acquainted with our history, it may seem strange, but it is not more so than true, that the Judges were formerly dependent on the caprice of the Crown. Prerogative, no doubt, thought it necessary; but the subject found it partial and oppressive. Before the close of the seventeenth century, and anterior to the glorious Revolution, men of pliant dispositions were raised to the bench, while those who distributed justice were removed: even-handed justice gave way to wicked policy; objects the most precious were by vicious constructions, without ceremony and without fear, sacrificed by those, whose duty it was to protect and preserve them. Sad and melancholy must have been the prospect; for when the channels of public justice are corrupted, where justice itself is corrupted into the means of revenge, political misery is arrived to it's height,

him was, 'that he did not despatch matters quick enough:' but his delays generally proved decisive, as from his judgement there were seldom any appeals. It was usual for persons, in his high station, to have the honour of knighthood conferred upon them. This he was desirous to avoid, and therefore he did not go to court; which the Chancellor observing, sent for him to his house upon business, at a time

From the numerous instances, which might be adduced in support of the assertion, the following is sufficient to establish it beyond a doubt or contradiction: In the year 1683, on the trial of Lord Russell, Jeffreys in his speech to the jury turned the untimely fate of Essex into a proof of the conspiracy, in which he and Russell had been engaged. Pemberton was removed from the head of the King's Bench, and even from the Privy Council, and Jeffreys put in his place; in order by the fierceness of his manners to cope with a man, the vigour of whose spirit was known throughout Europe.

In the year 1691, a bill passed both Houses to confirm the salaries and offices of the Judges for life; but the King, even at that great æra of liberty, refused his assent, leaving room for a succeeding Monarch to give unasked to the wishes of the people, what William refused to their prayers. However, to maintain the dignity and independence of those functionaries, it was soon afterward enacted that their commissions should be made not as formerly, *Durante benè placito*, but *Quamdiu benè se gesserint*. Their salaries were also ascertained and established, and their removal declared lawful, on the address of both Houses of Parliament. This law has been since improved. His present Majesty in the beginning of his reign declared from the throne, that 'he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the Judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice, as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects, and as most conducive to the honour of the Crown; and therefore earnestly recommended to parliament, that they might be continued during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the Crown.' This the parliament immediately took into consideration, and with all possible despatch passed a law in every respect conformable with the recommendation.

when he knew the King would be there, and introduced him to his Sovereign as 'his modest Chief Baron;' upon which, his Majesty insisted on making him a Knight.

It is recorded of this great man, that he manifested such a dislike of the very appearance of bribery, as was construed into affectation; and of this his scrupulous disposition some remarkable instances are recorded. The following will sufficiently mark his character: Upon one of his circuits, a gentleman, who had a cause to be determined at the Assizes, sent him a buck for his table. When the trial came on, he told the donor, 'he could not suffer it to proceed, till he had paid him for his venison;' and though the gentleman protested, 'that he had done no more to him, than to every Judge who had gone the circuit,' he strenuously persisted in his refusal. The record was withdrawn.

He was particularly delicate in avoiding every suspicion of having been previously influenced in his decisions. Being once visited in his chamber by a nobleman of the first rank, who had a suit before him, he absolutely refused hearing from him any statement of the case; saying, that 'he never received information upon causes except in the open court, where both parties might be heard alike.' Conceiving himself affronted, the Peer complained to the King: but Charles, who understood propriety, bid him 'be contented; for he verily believed Judge Hale would use himself no better, should he make a similar attempt.'

Sir Matthew, agreeably to one of the maxims of his favourite Atticus, now began to incline to the dissen-

ters,\* thinking that they were oppressed in this reign. Many of them, he thought, had merited highly in the business of the King's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter than they were before the war. But what afflicted him most was, that he saw the heats and contentions which followed upon those different parties and interests, took people off from the indispensable things of religion,† and slack-

\* The Hon. Roger North indeed, who in his 'Life of Lord Guildford' has studiously laboured to depress the character of Hale, represents him as biassed in favour not only of dissenters, but of the popular party in general; a leaning, surely not undesirable in a Judge, in the reign of Charles II.: but he acknowledges, that 'he did the Crown more justice in the Court of Exchequer than any of his predecessors had done, since he well knew what was law, and always decided accordingly.' His vanity and fondness for subtile distinctions, criminated by this writer, though unfortunate foibles, did not detract from his substantial merits of being a sincere lover of justice, and it's undaunted assertor.

He was of great service, it may here be added, to the city of London after the fire, by sitting in Clifford's Inn to assist in compromising differences between landlord and tenants: so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to Sir Orlando Bridgeman (then Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and subsequently Lord Keeper) and himself; since, without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such a train of vexatious suits, as would perhaps have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. Those rules were, more particularly, contrived by Hale; and, in their construction, he found his readiness at arithmetic and his skill in architecture eminently useful.

† The example of Sir Matthew Hale, observes the respectable editor of his 'Moral and Religious Works,' the Rev. T. Thirlwall, will be found in an eminent degree to inculcate the



ened the zeal of (other way) good men for the substance of it, so much being spent about external and indifferent things. It also gave advantages to Atheists to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they saw the professors of it contend so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about slighter matters. He was much offended at all those books,

spirit of moderation, charity, and forbearance; and furnish a practical comment on the text of the Apostle, who exhorts us 'To honour all men, and love the brotherhood.' The reader will learn to abjure and abhor the maxims of bigotry and intolerance, which then so powerfully prevailed. Firm, indeed, to his own principles, he will be ever ready to show a tenderness for the prejudices of others. Instead of widening, he will endeavour rather to heal the wounds of religious discord.

Whoever peruses the history of the Church in the time of the Usurpation, and contemplates the unhappy consequences which flowed from her divisions, will find abundant reason to deplore the intemperate zeal of the opposite parties; by which it unfortunately happened, in their indiscriminate hostility to each other, that those, who were the most distinguished for talents, learning, and piety, were often the greatest sufferers. The retaliations for the injuries, which the friends of the Established Church had received, were deeply felt and justly lamented in the person of Baxter, whose estimable qualities and rare endowments must make every good man wish he had escaped the rod of persecution.

The Church of England, indeed, revolts at the principle. Her weapons are spiritual. Those, whom she cannot convince by argument, she disdains to subdue by violence. Let us hope the age of persecution is fled for ever; that our eyes are open, not more to it's impiety, than to it's impolicy. We live in times, when the real friends of religion and virtue have more reason than ever to overlook their differences in speculative opinions, and unite together in stemming the torrent of vice and infidelity which is ready to overwhelm us. Our political situation, moreover, demands of every true patriot those sacrifices, and the promotion of Christian unity, love, and concord.

that were written to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant stile. He thought such writers wounded the Christian religion through the sides of those, who differed from them: while a sort of lewd people, who had assumed to themselves the title of the 'Wits' (though but very few of them had a right to it) took up from both hands what had been said to render each other ridiculous, and thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes. And, therefore, he often wished there might be some law, to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented proceeding too rigorously against the Nonconformists, so he declared himself always on the side of the Church of England,\* and said; 'those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the Church about such inconsiderable matters.'

He scarcely ever meddled in state-intrigues; yet upon a proposition set on foot in 1668, by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension of the more moderate Dissenters, and a limited indulgence toward such as could not be brought within it's operation, he dispensed with his maxim, of 'avoiding to engage in matters of State.' There were several meetings upon that occasion. The divine of the Church of England, who appeared most zealous for it, was Dr.

\* "I must say (observes even Baxter, in his 'Letter to Stephens') that he was of opinion, that the wealth and honour of the Bishops was convenient, to enable them the better to relieve the poor; and rescue the inferior clergy from oppression, and to keep up the honour of religion in the world."

Wilkins,\* subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Chester; a man of a great mind, true judgement, eminent virtues, and unaffected piety of character. He being determined, as well by his excellent temper, as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the mischiefs generally accruing to religion, and the dangers likely to be encountered by the Reformation in particular through those divisions, set about the project with a degree of magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself: for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, he yet pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the most eminent of the Presbyterian divines, heads were agreed upon, some abatements were to be made, and various explanations were to be accepted. The particulars thus concerted were brought to the Lord Chief Baron,

\* Though Hale lived in great friendship with some other eminent clergymen, as Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College; Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, and Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's (men so well known, and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the Lord Chief Baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them who are yet alive will think it no lessening of their character, that they are reckoned among his friends) yet there was a peculiar intimacy and freedom in his converse with Bishop Wilkins. He had also, during the preceding wars, lived in a long and entire friendship with the apostolical Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher: their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers, led them to a great agreement almost in every thing: and he held frequent intercourse with Mr. Baxter, his neighbour at Acton, whom he regarded as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick apprehension. Their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

who put them in the form of a bill, to be presented in the next session of parliament.

But this charitable and well arranged project was opposed by some zealous clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the Church to alter laws, and change settlements, for the sake of those whom they esteemed Schismatics. They believed, indeed, that it was better to keep them out of the Church, than to bring them into it; since a faction might arise upon their introduction, which in their judgement would be more dangerous than the schism itself. They farther remarked, that 'if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party, as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions, and there might be as good reasons invented for the latter as for the former:' adding that, 'many such concessions would shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to go over to the Church of Rome, as one that was at least constant and true to herself. These were the reasons chiefly urged against all comprehension; and they wrought with such efficacy upon the greater part of the House of Commons, that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

In 1671, he was raised to the office of Chief Justice of England, vacant by the death of Sir John Keyling. This promotion gave great satisfaction to the people, who considered him in his new capacity as the guardian of their liberties, and thought they could not be better deposited than in the hands of a person, who not only thoroughly understood, but also possessed both courage and integrity to maintain, the sacred trust. In this situation, beside enforcing what

the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, he was not satisfied barely to give his judgement; but added, especially in intricate cases, such an account of the reasons which determined his decisions, that the counsel not only acquiesced in his authority, but were frequently induced by the force of his arguments to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgement was, really, a learned lecture upon that point of law. But he held his important post only four years and a half; being suddenly attacked with an inflammation of the diaphragm, in the beginning of the year 1676, which in two days reduced him so low, that finding himself unable to go through the fatigue of public business, he solicited a writ of ease;\* and

\* He had been a long time wearied with the distractions, which his employment brought upon him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him. He loved, indeed, to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as will appear from a paper written by him upon this subject, which is here subjoined:

‘ First, If I consider the business of my profession, whether as an Advocate or as a Judge, it is true, I do acknowledge, by the institution of Almighty God and the dispensation of his Providence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in it: and as it is an Act of Obedience unto his Will, it carries with it some things of religious duty; and I may and do take comfort in it, and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and the good that I do to mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence and promise of Almighty God. And it is true also, that without such employments Civil Societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to mankind from them; and in these respects the conscience of my own industry, fidelity, and integrity in them is a great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

‘ Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

this being delayed, he resigned in February. In delivering the commission to Lord Chief Justice Rainsford,\* who succeeded him, the Lord Chancellor (Finch, Earl of Nottingham) among other things observed:—" *Onerosum est succedere bono principi,*

‘ Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and calumnies.

‘ Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian of this life, which is short and uncertain.

‘ Fifthly, That though it be my duty faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here; which, as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative life, and a due provision for eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour by making provision for him; yet our Lord tells her, that “ though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.” ’

Hence the reader will see, that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, than that being set in it by the Providence of God, he judged he could not abandon it without preferring his own private inclination to the choice God had made for him; but now, that same Providence having by his distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it.

\* This successor, falling into some melancholy, “ sent to Baxter for some advice, because Judge Hale desired him so to do!” What a compliment! and how well deserved! *Laudari à laudato* could never, perhaps, be more appropriately applied. Baxter, on the solicitation of their common friend Mr. Edward Stephens, the publisher of Hale’s ‘ Contemplations,’ drew up, the narrative of his ‘ short familiarity with him’ (during the last nine years of the Judge’s life) and closes his preface as follows: “ Being half-dead already in those dearest friends who were half myself, I am much the more willing to leave this mole-hill and prison of earth, to be with that wise and blessed society, who being united to their Head in glory do not envy, hate, or persecute each other, nor forsake God, nor shall ever be forsaken by him.”

was the saying of him in the panegyric: and you will find it so too, that are to succeed such a Chief Justice, of so indefatigable an industry, so invincible a patience, so exemplary an integrity, and so magnanimous a contempt of worldly things, without which no man can be truly great; and to all this, a man that was so absolute a master of the science of the law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierome's knowledge in divinity, *Quod Hieronymus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit*. And therefore the King would not suffer himself to part with so great a man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of bounty and esteem, which his retired and weak condition was capable of."

To this high character, in which the expressions not only well become the eloquence of him who pronounced them, but also exactly suit the subject to whom they were applied without the abatements frequently to be made for rhetorical exaggeration, should be added that part of the Lord Chief Justice's answer, in which he speaks of his predecessor: "a person, in whom his eminent, virtuous, and deep learning have long managed a contest for the superiority, which is not decided to this day; nor will it ever be determined, I suppose, which shall get the upper hand: a person, that has sat in this court these many years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his auditors to reverence and attention: a person, of whom I think I may boldly say, that 'as former times cannot show any superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and

future times will never show any equal.' These considerations, heightened by what I have heard from your Lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good, and so great a man. It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in comparison of him am but like a candle lighted in the sunshine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all posterity: and I must ever wear this motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me:

*“ Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.”*

As soon as he was discharged from his high office, he returned home with as much cheerfulness as his want of health would admit; being now eased of a burthen under which he had been of late groaning, and thus made more capable of enjoying that which he had so ardently coveted, according to his own elegant paraphrase upon those lines in Seneca's 'Thyestes,' II. 392—404.

*Stet quicumque volet potens  
Aulæ culmine lubrico:  
Me dulcis saturet quies.  
Obscuro positus loco,  
Leni perfruar otio:  
Nullis nota Quiritibus,  
Ætas per tacitum fluat.  
Sic, cùm transierint mei  
Nullo cum strepitu dies,  
Plebeius moriar senex.  
Illi mors gravis incubat,  
Qui notus nimis omnibus,  
Ignotus moritur sibi.*



‘ Let him that will, ascend the tottering seat  
Of courtly grandeur, and become as great  
As are his mounting wishes. As for me,  
Let sweet repose and rest my portion be.  
Give me some mean obscure recess : a sphere  
Out of the road of business, or the fear  
Of falling lower ; where I sweetly may  
Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.  
Let not my life, or name, be known unto  
The ( ? *high* ) grandees of time ; tost to and fro  
By censures, or applause : but let my age  
Slide gently by, not overthwart the stage  
Of public action ; unheard, unseen  
And unconcern’d, as if I ne’er had been.  
And thus, while I shall pass my silent days  
In shady privacy, free from the noise  
And bustles of the mad world, then shall I  
A good old innocent plebeian die.  
Death is a mere surprise, a very snare,  
To him that makes it his life’s greatest care  
To be a public pageant known to all,  
But unacquainted with himself doth fall.’

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, on account of the asthma ; but sat, rather than lay, in it.

In his sickness he was attended by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish ; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, and with his hands and eyes lifted up was fixed in his devotions. Not long before his death this gentleman told him, ‘ There was to be a sacrament the following Sunday at church, but as he believed he was not able to attend and partake with the rest, he would give it to him in his own house.’ Upon which, he answered, ‘ No ; his Heavenly Father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go

to his Father's House to partake of it.' Accordingly, he made himself be carried thither in his chair, and received the sacrament on his knees with a degree of devotion which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his viaticum, or provision for his journey. He died December 25, 1676,\* and was interred in the church-yard of Alderly.†

Sir Matthew Hale was twice married. By his first lady, ‡ Anne daughter of Sir Henry Moore of Berkshire, he had ten children, of whom six lived to be married, but only two (his eldest daughter, and his youngest son) survived him.§ In these children, he is said to have been unhappy; a misfortune, not unusual to persons of strict manners. In his private character he was a kind encourager of studious youth, and freely assisted them with his advice. He loved to enjoy the society of a few friends, but is represented as having been very accessible to flattery. His professional fame, as an author, chiefly rests upon his *Historia Placitorum Coronæ*, or 'History of the Pleas of the Crown,' published in 1736 from his original manuscript, in two volumes folio, by Solomon Emlyn, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. It has since been

\* On Christmas Day; a day, for which he had long had a particular devotion. See the Extracts.

† He did not approve of the practice of burying in churches. "Churches," he said, "were for the living, and church-yards for the dead."

‡ His second wife was Anne, daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of humbler lineage but prudent and loving, by whom he had no issue.

§ The male line of his family became extinct in 1784, by the death of his great grandson, Matthew Hale, Esq. Barrister at Law.

reprinted in 2 vols. octave, in 1772 and 1800. His other works are,

‘ An Essay touching the Gravitation of Fluid Bodies ;’ 1674.

‘ *Difficiles Nugæ*, or Observations concerning the Torricellian Experiment,’ &c. 1674.

‘ Observations touching the Principles of Natural Motion,’ &c. 1677.

‘ Contemplations, Moral and Divine,’ &c. 1676—1679.

‘ A Translation of the Life of Atticus by Cornelius Nepos ;’ and

‘ The Primitive Origination of Mankind considered.’

All these were published by himself.

The following were given, posthumously, to the public :

‘ The Judgement of the Nature of True Religion,’ &c. 1685. (Published by R. Baxter.)

‘ Several Tracts on Religious and Moral Topics,’ 1684.

‘ A Letter to his Children, advising them how to behave in their Speech.’

‘ A Letter to one of his Sons, after his recovering from the Small-pox.’

‘ Discourse of the Knowledge of God and Ourselves,’ &c. 1688.

Of these an addition, under the title of his ‘ Religious and Moral Works,’ was published by the Rev. Thomas Thirlwall, in 2 vols. 8vo., in 1805.

And, in his own profession,

‘ The Preface to Rolle’s Abridgement of Cases.’

‘ Part of the Work entitled, ‘ London’s Liberties.’

‘ Pleas of the Crown,’ 1678 (the mere plan of his above-mentioned larger work).

‘ A Treatise concerning Sheriff’s Accounts,’ 1683, with his Trial of the Witches.

‘ A Discourse touching Provision for the Poor,’ 1685.

‘ The Original Institution, Power, and Jurisdiction of Parliaments,’ 1707, &c. &c.\*

\* This last was re-published by Francis Hargrave, Esq. in quarto in 1796, under the title of ‘ Hale’s Jurisdiction of the

By his will he bequeathed all his law-manuscripts,\* which he had been collecting for upward of forty years, to the Society of Lincoln's Inn; ordering, that they should be bound and kept safe together by chaining them, not to be lent out or disposed of; unless any of his posterity, being members of that Society, should desire to transcribe any book, and give good security to restore it again on a fixed day, in which case they were empowered to borrow one volume at a time.' He calls them, indeed, "a treasure not fit for every man's view:" nor, he adds, "is every man capable of making use of them."

Of his great design against Atheism the first part only is printed, 'Of the Origination of Mankind,' designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

'The second part was, of the nature of the soul, and of a future state.

'The third part was, concerning the attributes of God; from the abstracted ideas of him, the light of nature, the evidence of Providence, the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

'And the fourth part was, concerning the truth

House of Lords,' with an introductory Preface including a narrative of the same jurisdiction from the Accession of James I.

\* Of these MSS. Dr. Burnet has subjoined to his Life a complete Catalogue. He valued books indeed and manuscripts, as his Right Reverend Biographer informs us, above all things in the world; and therefore displayed the greater virtue in resigning (conjointly with his brother-executors, who piously resolved to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will as drawn up in cool blood, and not of his passion) the collection of that gentleman, believed to be one of the most curious in Europe, to the Bodleian library.

and authority of the Scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. These subjects, upon which he spent seven years, he treated with so much consideration, that it is affirmed by one who perused the first draught under his own hand, 'he did not remember any considerable alteration; perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.'

From his writing them only on the evenings of the Lord's-day, when he was in town, and not much oftener when he was in the country, they are less contracted than they probably would have been, if he had possessed more leisure to bring his thoughts into a narrower compass and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the stile, the volume which is printed is generally acknowledged to be one of the most perfect pieces, both of learning and reasoning, that has been written on the subject. And the others, it has been stated upon incontrovertible authority, 'were all of a piece with the first.'

When he had finished this work, he sent it by an unknown hand to Bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgement of it; directing the bearer to give no other account of the author, than that he was not a clergyman. The Bishop, and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson, read a great part of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine how a person endowed with so much reason, and possessing such a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not detect him by those characters, which are so little common. At last Tillotson guessed, 'it must be the Lord Chief Baron;' to which the other presently agreed, wondering that he had been so long in finding it out. Upon this

they immediately paid him a visit; and Dr. Wilkins thanking him for 'the entertainment which he had received from his works,' he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, as apprehending that his messenger had betrayed him: but the Bishop soon told him, 'He had discovered himself; for the learning of the book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it:' and having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed both with so much plainness and prudence, added, 'Nothing could possibly be better said upon these arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the good which it must needs do.' The Judge, however, having no opportunity of revising it, a little before his death sent the first part of it, as it then stood, to the press.

How little he valued wealth, may be satisfactorily inferred from the small fortune, which he left behind him. Of the 900*l.* *per ann.*, to which he had raised it during a life of frugal subsistence and successful professional labour, a very considerable portion accrued from his share of Mr. Selden's estate.\* He

\* It "showed his mean estate as to riches," as is observed by the excellent Richard Baxter (to whom, in testimony of his respect and love, he bequeathed forty shillings) that in his will he is put to "distribute the profits of a book or two, when printed, among his friends and servants." With his legacy Baxter purchased 'a great Bible,' and inserting in it his friend's picture in memory of his love and name, subjoined to it a Character of the illustrious deceased. Without deserving the imputation of Bibliomania in it's least respectable acceptance, any one might covet the possession of such a treasure!

invariably indeed, in addition to his other large and numerous charities, laid aside a tenth part of all his receipts for the poor; which he constantly dispensed with such secrecy, that they who were relieved seldom knew their benefactor.

Having thus mastered things without him, his next study was, to overcome his own inclinations: he was, as he said himself, naturally passionate. I add, 'as he said himself;' for that appeared by no other evidence, save that occasionally his colour would rise a little: but he so governed himself, that those who lived long about him never saw him disordered with anger, though he met with some trials which the nature of man is ordinarily little able to bear. From one who, after having done him a great injury, came subsequently to him for his advice in the settlement of his estate, he would accept no fee; thus showing, both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had in him 'the soul of a gentleman, not to take money from one who had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked, 'How he could use the man so kindly?' his answer was, 'He thanked God he had learned to forget injuries.'

Beside the great temper, which he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was a very gentle master. Tender toward all his servants, he never dismissed them, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them. When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not see them at their first coming home (and sometimes, even, not till the next day) lest, when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chidden them indecently: and when he did reprove them, he

did it with such sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having committed the fault, than for the offence given by it to himself. If, however, they became immoral or unruly, he then turned them away; remarking, that 'he, who by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must by no means suffer them in his own house.' He advanced his servants according to the time they had spent in his service, and would never give occasion to envy among them by raising the younger clerks above those, who had been longer under his roof. He treated them all indeed with the greatest affection, rather as a friend than a master, giving them frequently good advice and instruction.

That he was of a most tender and compassionate nature eminently appeared in his trying and giving sentence upon criminals. Upon these occasions he was extremely anxious, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the fact; behaving himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a Judge, and the pity due to men whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity fell from his lips. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and he summed the evidence so equally, when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of unfairness. When it became his duty to pronounce sentence, he did it with so much composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners directing them to prepare for death were so free from all affectation and so devout, that many attended the trials, in order to be edified by



his speeches and behaviour, and used to say, 'they heard very few such sermons.'

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts; for when the horses he had kept long grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought; but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market and the like. Dogs, also, he used with the same care. His shepherd, having one become blind with age, intended to have had him killed or turned away: but the Judge hearing of it, made one of his servants bring him home and feed him till he died; and he was scarcely ever seen more angry, than when one of his servants through neglect had suffered a bird, which he kept, to die for want of food.\*

He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was engaging, his conversation affable† and entertaining; his elocution

\* The reader of Plutarch's Lives will recollect a very humane passage upon this subject in his Cato the Censor, II. 499.

† "The manner of our converse," says Baxter, "was as suitable to my inclination as the matter: for whereas many bred in Universities, and called 'Scholars,' have not the wit, manners, or patience to hear those that they discourse with, speak to the end, but through list and impotency cannot hold, but cut off a man's speech when they hear any thing that urgeth them; before the latter part make the former intelligible or strong (when oft the proof, and use, is reserved to the end) liker scolds than scholars; as if they commanded silence at the end of each sentence to him that speaketh, or else would have two talk at once: I do not remember, that ever he and I did interrupt each other in any discourse. His wisdom, and accustomed patience, caused him still to stay for the end. And, though my disposition have too much forwardness to speak, I had not so

easy and persuasive, his temper open and generous ; affectionate to his family, and sincere to his friends. However engaged in the service of his country, he neglected not the education of his children. To form their manners and direct their talents,\* to promote in them the practice of virtue and piety, to shield them from imprudence, indigence, and misfortune ; such were the important objects of his instruction.

From his youth, he seemed to have acquainted himself with wisdom and with knowledge : his virtue was not inferior to his learning ; and as humility always accompanied the former, modesty was ever attendant on the latter. Notwithstanding the variety of his avocations, indeed, he daily pressed nearer to perfection by a devotion which, though elevated, was rational, and though regular, was warm.

In his profession, his judgement was clear, his opinion was authority ; and though he conscientiously discharged it's duties, he at the same time disregarded the profits, which resulted from it. When at the bar, nothing could induce him to prostitute his abilities ; yet amidst all the confusion of civil war, he not only preserved his integrity, but lived in ease and security. Actuated by the example of his own Pomponius Atticus, he walked through a period of the most turbulent distraction, uncensured and unhurt. On the bench he reigned, 'a pure intelligencer.' There he was all patience ; and though the temper of the times too often made innovations in the law, he

little wit or manners as to interrupt him ; whereby we far better understood each other, than we could have done in chopping and maimed discourse."

\* See the Extracts.

never gave way to injustice, however formidable. Nothing could alarm, or allure him. Looking forward to the lasting incorruptible judgement of posterity, without fear and above temptation, he became a shield to his fellow-citizens, and a support to his profession and the state. He held equity to be, not only part of the common law, but also one of it's principal grounds; for which reason he reduced it to principles, that it might be studied as a science.

That one man, in no great space of time, should acquire such variety of knowledge, is almost incredible: but when we reflect that his parts were lively, and his apprehension quick; that his memory was retentive, his judgement sound, and his application indefatigable; the mystery is unravelled, and admiration increases, as incredulity passes away.

With such virtues and abilities, had he been insensible to the applause which was justly and liberally bestowed upon him, it might have been adduced as an instance either of weakness, or of affectation. On the contrary, he had a becoming sense of the esteem in which he was held, attended with that self-approbation, which ever accompanies the accomplishment of worthy actions. Yet for this, as we have seen, he is pronounced a vain person by Mr. Roger North, who however, in endeavouring to depreciate an established character, has only degraded his own.

Though religion be the most animating persuasion, which the mind of man can embrace; though it gives strength to our hopes, and stability to our resolutions; though it subdues the insolence of prosperity, and draws out the sting of affliction; yet such was the profligacy of the reign of Charles II., so far re-

moved from sound policy and good manners, that at this period of ease and politeness religion was not only grossly neglected, but daily exhibited also as an object for the exercise of ridicule. To lessen the veneration due to religion is a kind of zeal, which no epithet is sufficient to stigmatise; it is attacking the strongest hold of society, and attempting to destroy the firmest guard of human security. So alarming was this advance of impiety to Sir Matthew, that he often deplored it with unaffected sorrow. Were it necessary to evince his abhorrence of it, I might content myself with appealing to the bright example of his life: but however sufficient that might be for the purpose, it would yet be doing great injustice to his memory not to mention, that he employed some time in elegant instructive disquisitions on the most interesting topics of the Christian dispensation. Minutely observant of the rituals of devotion, he was perhaps singular in his deportment; but he for a long time concealed the consecration of himself to the strictest duties of religion, lest by some adventitious action he should bring piety into disgrace. In truth, he taught the theory of Christianity by his precepts, and the practice by his example. The faith, which influenced his own actions, he religiously communicated to others; he improved devotion where he found it, and kindled it where he found it not. May those, who study his writings, imitate his life; and those, who endeavour after his knowledge, aspire likewise to his piety.

By being ingenuous, he not only secured his independence, but raised himself likewise above flattery or reproach, above menace or misfortune. Thus the

rectitude of his conduct, added to the greatness of his abilities and the ease of his deportment, not only gained him universal respect, but rendered him more conspicuous than any of his contemporaries.\*

In the life of Sir Matthew Hale, says a respectable writer, we see not merely a character improved and adorned by the Christian graces and virtues, but Christianity itself substantially exemplified. We observe it's power to "convert the soul," in that radical change which it effects in the youth; while every subsequent action of the man concurs to prove that the ideal character of wisdom, which some ancient philosophers described as the mark to be aimed at, though without any hope of attainment, is in all it's valuable features actually realised in the true Christian. What but Christianity could have given to Judge Hale that uniform ascendancy over every thing selfish and secular, by means of which he so undeviatingly kept the path of pure heroic virtue, as to be alike revered by parties the most opposite to each other? Is there in human history any fact more extraordinary, than that the Advocate of Strafford and Laud (and of King Charles, had leave been given for pleading) should be raised to the Bench by Cromwell; and, again, that a Judge of Cromwell's should be not only re-instated by Charles II., but also compelled by him against his own will to accept the very highest judicial trust? Such is the triumph of genuine Christianity! a triumph, which is in some degree renewed, whenever the name of Hale is repeated even in Courts of Law;

\* Serjeant Runnington.

since the appeal is evidently made, not more to the authority of the Judge, than to the integrity of the man. If Burnet had never written more than the Life of Sir Matthew Hale, this alone would have entitled him to the eternal gratitude of the Christian world: there being no work of the kind better worth the study, either of the professional or of the private man; of all, who would truly learn how to live, or how to die.

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Of his Four Letters addressed to his Children, the Second gives

*‘ Directions touching Religion.’*

‘ DEAR CHILDREN,

‘ I intended to have been at Alderly this Whitsuntide, desirous to renew those counsels and advices which I have often given you, in order to your greatest concernment; namely, the everlasting good and welfare of your souls hereafter, and the due ordering of your lives and conversations here.

‘ And although young people are apt, through their own indiscretion or the ill advice of others, to think these kinds of entertainments but dry and empty matters, and the morose and needless interpositions of old men; yet give him leave to tell you, that very well knows what he says, these things are of more importance and concernment to you, than external gifts and bounties (wherein) nevertheless I have not been wanting to you according to my ability.

‘ This was my intention in this journey; and

though I have been disappointed therein, yet I thought good, by letters and messages, to do something that might be done that way for your benefit, that I had otherwise intended to have done in person.

‘Assure yourselves therefore, and believe it from one that knows what he says, from one that can neither have any reason or end to deceive you, that the best gift I can give you is good counsel; and the best counsel I can give you is that, which relates to your greatest import and concernment, namely, Religion.

‘And therefore, since I cannot at this time deliver it to you in person, I shall do it by this letter; wherein I shall not be very large, but keep myself within the bounds proper for a letter, and to those things only at this time which may be most of present use and moment to you; and by your due observance of these directions I shall have a good character, both of your dutifulness to God, your obedience to your father, and also of your discretion and prudence: for it is most certain, that as religion is the best means to advance and rectify human nature, so no man shall be either truly wise or truly happy without it and the love of it; no, not in this life, much less in that which is to come.

‘First, therefore, every morning and every evening upon your knees humbly commend yourselves to Almighty God in prayer, begging his mercy to pardon your sins, his grace to direct you, his providence to protect you; returning him humble thanks for all his dispensations toward you, yea, even for his very corrections and afflictions; entreating him to give you wisdom and grace to make a sober,

patient, humble, profitable use of them, and in his due time to deliver you from them, concluding your prayers with the Lord's Prayer. This will be a certain mean to bring your mind into a right frame, to procure you comfort and blessing, and to prevent thousands of inconveniences and mischiefs, to which you will be otherwise subjected.

‘ Secondly. Every morning read seriously and reverently a portion of the Holy Scripture, and acquaint yourself with the history and doctrine thereof: it is a book full of light and wisdom, will make you wise to eternal life, and furnish you with directions and principles to guide and order your life safely and prudently.

‘ Thirdly. Conclude every evening with reading some part of the Scriptures, and prayer in your family.

‘ Fourthly. Be strict and religious observers of the Lord's Day; resort to your parish-church twice that day, if your health will permit, and attend diligently and reverently to the public prayers and sermons. He cannot reasonably expect a blessing from God the rest of the week, that neglects his duty to God in the due consecration of this day to the special service and duty to God, which this day requires.

‘ Fifthly. Receive the Sacrament at least three times in the year, and oftener, as there is occasion, in your parish-church. The laws of the land require this, and the law of your Saviour requires it, and the law of duty and gratitude requires it of you. Prepare yourselves seriously for this service beforehand, and perform it with reverence and thankfulness: the neglect of this duty procures great incon-



venience and strangeness; and commonly the neglect hereof ariseth from some conceited opinion that people inconsiderately take up, but most ordinarily from a sluggishness of mind and an unwillingness to fit and prepare the mind for it, or to leave some sinful or vain course that men are not willing to leave, and yet condemn themselves in the practice of it.

‘ Sixthly. Beware of those, that go about to seduce you from that religion wherein you have been brought up hitherto, namely, the true Protestant Religion. It is not unknown to any, that observes the state of things in the world, how many erroneous religions are scattered abroad in the world, and how industrious men of false persuasions are to make proselytes. There are Antinomians, Quakers, Anabaptists, and divers others that go about to mislead themselves and others: nay, although the laws of this kingdom, and especially the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 1., have inflicted the severest penalty upon those that go about to withdraw persons to the Romish religion from the religion established in England, as any man that reads that statute may find; yet there are scattered up and down the world divers factors and agents, that under several disguises and pretences endeavour the perverting of weak and easy persons. Take heed of all such persuaders. And that you may know and observe the better, you shall ever find these artifices practised by them:

‘ 1. They will use all flattering applications and insinuations to be master of your humour, and when they have gotten that advantage, they that seemed before to serve you will then command you.

‘ 2. They will use all possible skill to raise in you

jealousy and dislike toward those, that may otherwise continue (qr. *continueant*) and keep you in the truth : as, to raise dislike in you against your minister ; nay, rather than fail, to raise dissension among relations ; yea, to cast jealousies and surmises among them, if it may be instrumental to corrupt them.

‘ 3. They will endeavour to withdraw people from the public ministry of God’s word, encourage men to slight and neglect it, and when they have once effected this, they have a fair opportunity to infuse their own corrupt principles.

‘ 4. They will engage you by some means or other to them, either by some real, but most ordinarily by some pretended kindness or familiarity, that in a little time you shall not dare to displease them : you must do and speak what they will have you, because some way or other you are entangled with them, or engaged to them ; and then they become your governors, and you will not dare to contradict or disobey them.

‘ These are some of those artifices, whereby crafty and subtile seducers gain proselytes, and bring men under captivity.

‘ Seventhly. Be very careful to moderate your passions, especially of choler and anger. It inflames the blood, disorders the brain, and for the time exterminates not only religion, but common reason : it puts the mind into confusion, and throws wild-fire into the tongue, whereby men give others advantage against them : it renders a man incapable of doing his duty to God, and puts a man upon acts of violence, unrighteousness, and injustice to men. Therefore keep your passions under discipline, and under as

strict a chain, as you would keep an unruly curst mastiff. Look to it, that you give it not too much line at first ; but if it hath gotten any fire within you, quench it frequently with consideration, and let it not break out into passionate or unruly words or actions : but, whatever you do, let it not gangrene into malice, envy, or spite.

‘ Eighthly. Send your children early to learn their Catechism, that they may take in the true principles of religion betimes, which may grow up with them, and habituate them both to the knowledge and practice of it ; that they may escape the danger of corruption by error or vice, being antecedently seasoned with better principles.

‘ Ninthly. Receive the blessings of God with very much thankfulness to him ; for he is the root and fountain of all the good you do, or can, receive.

‘ Tenthly. Bear all afflictions and crosses patiently : it is your duty ; for afflictions come not from the dust. The great God of heaven and earth is he, that sends these messengers to you, though possibly evil occurrences may be the immediate instruments of them. You owe to Almighty God an infinite subjection and obedience, and to expostulate with him is rebellion. And, as it is your duty, so it is your wisdom and your prudence : impatience will not discharge your yoke, but it will make it gall the worse, and sit the harder.

‘ Eleventhly. Learn not only patience under your afflictions, but also profitably to improve them to your soul’s good ; learn by them, how vain and unprofitable things the world and the pleasures thereof are, that a sharp or a lingering sickness renders utterly

tasteless. Learn how vain and weak a thing human nature is, which is pulled down to the gates of death, and clothed with rottenness and corruption, by a little disorder in the blood, in a nerve, in a vein, in an artery. And since we have so little hold of a temporal life, which is shaken and shattered by any small occurrence, accident, or distemper; learn to lay hold of eternal life, and of that covenant of peace and salvation, which Christ hath brought for all that believe and obey the Gospel of peace and salvation: there shall be no death, no sickness, no pain, no weakness; but a state of unchangeable and everlasting happiness. And, if you thus improve affliction, you are gainers by it; and most certain it is, that there is no more probable way, under heaven, to be delivered from affliction (if the wise God see it fit) than thus to improve it. For affliction is a messenger: and the rod hath a voice; and that is, to require mankind to be the more patient and the more humble, and more to acknowledge Almighty God in all our ways. And if men listen to this voice of the rod, and conform to it, the rod hath done his errand; and either will leave a man, or at least give a man singular comfort, even under the sharpest affliction. And this affliction, which is but for a moment, thus improved, will work for us an exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

‘Twelfthly. Reverence your minister; he is a wise and a good man, and one that loves you, and hath a tender care and respect for you. Do not grieve him, either by neglect or disrespect. Assure yourselves, if there be any person that sets any of you against him, or provokes or encourageth any of you to despise or neglect him, that person, whoever

he be, loves not you nor the office he bears. And therefore, as the laws of the land and the Divine Providence hath placed him at Alderly to have a care of your souls, so I must tell you I do expect you should reverence and honour him for his own, for your, and for his office sake.

‘ And now I have written this long epistle to you, to perform that office for me that I should have done in person, if I could have taken this journey. The epistle is long, but it had been longer, if I had had more time. And though, perchance, some there may be in the world, that when they hear of it will interpret it to be but the excursions and morose rules of old age, unnecessary, and such as might have been spared; yet, I am persuaded, it will find better acceptation thereof from you that are my children. I am now on the shady side of threescore years. I write to you, what you have often heard me in substance speak. And possibly, when I shall leave this world, you will want such a remembrancer as I have been to you. The words that I now, and at former times have written to you, are words of truth and soberness; and words and advices, that proceed from a heart full of love and affection to you all. If I should see you do amiss in any thing, and should not reprove you; or if I should find you want counsel or direction, and should not give it, I should not perform the trust of a father: and, if you should not thankfully receive it, you would be somewhat defective in the duty you owe to God and me, as children. As I have never spared my purse to supply you, according to my abilities and the reasonableness of occasions, so I have never been wanting to you in good and prudent counsels. And the God of heaven

give you wisdom, constancy, and fidelity, in the observance of them.

‘ I am your ever loving father,

‘ MATTHEW HALE.’

‘ May 20.’

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In his account of the Good Steward, which forms part of his valuable Tract entitled ‘ The Great Audit,’ he represents himself as rendering an account, generally, as to all the blessings and talents entrusted to him; and more particularly, as to his senses, his reason and understanding, his memory, his conscience, the great works of Creation and Providence, more special providences, his speech, his time of life, his use and dominion over the creatures, his learning of natural causes and effects and of arts and sciences, his prudence and understanding in affairs and dexterity in the managing of them, his elocution, his body and bodily endowments of health, strength, and beauty, his wealth and temporal subsistence, his eminence of place and power, and his reputation and credit. Of this, two sections are inserted, as a specimen of his pious and simple state of mind.

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‘ *Touching my Time of Life.*’

‘ First, I have duly considered what it is, and for what end thou gavest it me: that it is but a short time, and the minutes that are past and the opportunities in them are irrevocably and irrecoverably lost; that all the wealth of the world cannot redeem it; that the time, that is before me, is uncertain. When I look upon an hour-glass, or the shadow of a dial, I can guess

that here is half an hour, or a quarter, or more, or less to come; but I cannot guess, what proportion of time remains in the hour-glass of my life: only I know it is short, but I know not how short it is—whether a year, or a week, or a day, or an hour; and yet upon this little uncertain portion of time, and the due use of it, depends my everlasting happiness or misery. It is my seed-time, and if I sow not my seed here, it is too late to think of that husbandry after death; and if I sow, and sow not good seed, my crop will be thereafter in that other world, that immediately expects upon the issue of this. And I have a thousand diversions, that rob me of much of this little portion of time, and yield me no account in order to my great concernment. When I cast out from the account of my time the unprofitableness of my childhood and youth, the hours spent in eating, drinking, sleeping, recreations, travels, and other things that carry no sin in them, there remains but a small portion of a short life for concernments of everlasting importance; a great business to be done, great difficulties and impediments in the doing of it, and but a little portion of time, of a short and uncertain life, to do it in. And yet this life of mine was by thee given, not to be trifled or squandered away, either in sin or idleness; not to gain riches, honour, or reputation: for when sickness comes, these will appear insipid and vain things; and when death comes, they will be merely useless. But it was for a higher end, viz: a time, to trade for the most valuable jewel of eternal happiness; a time, to sow such seed, as might yield a crop of blessedness in the next world; a time, to secure a title to an everlasting inheritance; such a time as, if once lost,

the opportunity is lost for ever, lost irrecoverably : for the night cometh, wherein no man can work ; *There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.\**

‘ And upon this consideration of the great end of my life, the great importance of the business that is to be done in it, the brevity and great uncertainty of this life, and the utter impossibility after death to redeem the neglect of the proper and important business of my life—I have endeavoured to husband this short, uncertain, important talent as well as I can :

‘ 1. By a careful *avoiding of sinful employments*, which at once waste this precious talent, and contract a farther debt upon me, render me in arrears for the time mis-spent and the guilt contracted.

‘ 2. By avoiding *idleness*, burning out my candle to no purpose.

‘ 3. By avoiding *unnecessary consumption of time* by long feastings, excessive sleep, impertinent visits, seeing of interludes, unnecessary recreations, curious and impertinent studies and inquiries, that when attained serve to no purpose.

‘ 4. By applying, directing, and ordering even my *studies of human learning*, histories, natural or moral philosophy, mathematics, language, laws, to an end beyond themselves; viz. thereby to enable me to understand and observe thy excellent wisdom and power, to maintain and uphold thy cause against atheism, idolatry, and errors; to fit me for serving of thee and my country, in the station wherein I live.

‘ 5. By exercising myself in the very business of *my calling*, as an act of duty and obedience to thee,

\* Eccles. ix. 10.



acting in it those virtues of Christianity that might be honourable to thy name, of good example to others, of improvement of grace unto myself: using in it diligence without anxiety, dependence upon thee without presumption, contentedness, patience, thankfulness, honesty, justice, uprightness, plain-dealing, liberality; and, by these means, translating my secular employment into an exercise of Christian duty: serving thee while I served myself, and converting that very employment and the time spent therein to the use, honour, and advantage of my Lord and Master, the good example of others, and the increase of my spiritual advantage as well as my temporal.

‘ 6. By religiously observing those *times that have been set apart to religious duties, especially the Lord's Day*; not mingling with it secular thoughts or employments, but with much attention, strictness, and care laying hold of those times and opportunities, and carefully applying them singly to the proper business of the times.

‘ 7. By dedicating and setting apart some portion of my time to *prayer and reading of thy word*, which I have constantly and peremptorily observed, whatever occasions interposed, or importunity persuaded to the contrary.

‘ 8. By making the *magnum oportet*, the great and one thing necessary, the *choice and principal business of my life*, and the great design of it; and esteeming that time spent most naturally, profitably, and suitably, that was spent in order to it: observing thy great works of wisdom and power; contemplating upon thy goodness and excellency; hearing and reading thy word; calling upon thy name; crucifying

my corruptions; exercising thy graces; humbling myself for my sins; returning thanks for thy mercies; studying the mystery of *God manifest in the flesh*; striving to bring myself conformable to my Pattern, and to have him found in my heart, and his life in mine; crucifying myself to the world, and the world to me; fitting myself for death, judgement, and eternity. These, and the like employments I esteemed the flower, the glory, the best of my spent time, because they will be carried over with glory in the life to come; and therefore this I reckoned my business, and accordingly I made it. Other matters, that only served for the meridian of this life I used either barely for necessity of my present subsistence, or as a divertisement and sparingly, or in order to those great ends. Those were the business, these only the *parerga*\* of my life.'

‘ 10. *Touching thy Creatures, and the Use of them, and the Dominion over them.*’

‘ 1. I have esteemed them as thine: in propriety thou hast committed unto me the use, and a subordinate dominion over them; yet I ever esteemed myself an accomptant to Thee for them with thankfulness unto Thee, the great Lord of both them and me: when the earth yielded me a good crop of corn or other fruits, when flocks increased, when my honest labours brought me in a plentiful or convenient supply, I looked up to Thee as the giver, to thy providence and blessings as the original of all my increase. I did not sacrifice to my own art, or industry, or pru-

\* Recreations.

dence; but I received all, as the gracious and bountiful returns of thy liberal hand: I looked upon every grain of corn that I sowed as buried and lost, unless thy power quickened and revived it. I esteemed the best production would have been but stalk and straw, unless thou had'st increased it; I esteemed mine own hand and industry but impotent, unless thou had'st blessed it; for it is thy blessing that maketh rich, and it is thou that givest power to get wealth.\*

‘ 2. I esteemed it my duty to make a return of this my acknowledgement, by giving the tribute of my increase in the maintenance of thy ministers, and the relief of the poor; and I esteemed the practice enjoined to thy ancient people, of giving the tenth of their increase, a sufficient not only warrant, but instruction to me under the Gospel to do the like.

‘ 3. I have not only looked upon thy blessings and bounty, in lending me thine own creatures for my use; but I have sought unto Thee, for a blessing upon them in my use of them. I did very well observe, that there is by my sin a curse in the very creatures that I receive, unless thy blessing fetch it out; an emptiness in them, unless thy goodness fill them; though thou should'st give me quails and manna from heaven, yet without thy blessing upon them they would become rottenness and putrefaction to me: and therefore I ever begged thy blessing upon thy blessings, as well as the blessings themselves, and attributed the good I found, or was to expect in them, to the same hand that gave them.

‘ 4. I received and used thy creatures as committed to me under a trust, and as a steward and

\* Prov. x. 22. Deut. viii. 18.

accountant for them; and therefore I was always careful to use them according to those limits, and in order for those ends, for which thou did'st commit them to me; 1. With temperance and moderation. I did not use thy creatures to luxury and excess, to make provision for my lusts, with vain glory or ostentation, but for the convenient support of the exigencies of my nature and condition: and, if at any time thy goodness did indulge me an use of them for delight, as well as necessity, I did it but rarely and watchfully. I looked not upon the wine, when it gave it's colour in the cup, nor gave myself over either to excess or curiosity in meats or drinks: I checked myself therein, as being in thy presence, and still remembered I had thy creatures under an account; and was ever careful to avoid excess or intemperance, because every excessive cup or meal was in danger to leave me somewhat in *super\** and arrear to my Lord. 2. With mercy and compassion to the creatures themselves, which thou hast put under my power and disposal; when I considered the admirable powers of life and sense which I saw in the birds and beasts, and that all the men in the world could not give the like being to any thing, nor restore that life and sense, which is once taken from them. When I considered, how innocently and harmlessly the fowls and the fish and the sheep and the oxen take their food, that thou the Lord of all hast given them, I have been apt to think that surely thou did'st intend more innocent kind of food to man, than such as must be taken with such detriment to those living parts of thy creation; and although thy

\* *Excess.*

wonderful goodness hath so much indulged to mankind, as to give up the lives of these creatures for the food of man by thy express commission, yet I still do, and ever did think that there was a *justice due* from man, even to these sensible creatures, that he should take them sparingly, for necessity, and not for delight; or, if for delight, not for luxury. I have been apt to think, that if there were any more liberal use of creatures for delight and variety, it should be of fruits, or such other delicacies as might be had without the loss of Life; but however it be, this very consideration hath made me very sparing and careful, not vainly or superfluously or unnecessarily or prodigally, to take away the life of thy creatures for feasting and excess. And the very same consideration hath always gone along with me, *in reference to the Labours of thy creatures*. I have ever thought that there was a certain degree of justice due from man to the creatures, as from man to man, and that an excessive, immoderate, unseasonable use of the creature's labour is an injustice for which he must account. To deny domestic creatures their convenient food; to exact that labour from them, that they are not able to perform; to use extremity or cruelty toward them, is a breach of that trust under which the dominion of the creatures was committed to us, and a breach of that justice that is due from men to them: and therefore I have always esteemed it as a part of my duty, and it hath always been my practice, to be merciful to beasts.\* And upon the same account I have ever esteemed it a breach of trust, and have accordingly declined any

\* Prov. xii. 10.

cruelty to any of thy creatures, and as much as I might prevented it in others, as a tyranny inconsistent with the trust and stewardship that thou hast committed to me. I have abhorred those sports, that consist in the torturing of the creatures; and if either noxious creatures must be destroyed, or creatures for food must be taken, it hath been my practice to do it in that manner, that may be with the least torture or cruelty to the creature; and I have still thought it an unlawful thing to destroy those creatures for recreation's sake, that either were not hurtful when they lived, or are not profitable when they are killed: ever remembering, that thou hast given us a dominion over thy creatures; yet it is under a law of justice, prudence, and moderation, otherwise we should become tyrants, not lords over thy creatures. And therefore those things of this nature, that others have practised as recreations, I have avoided as sins.'

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*From his Treatise on 'The Knowledge of Christ Crucified.'*

'1. WHO it was, that thus suffered. It was Christ Jesus the eternal Son of God, clothed in our flesh; God and Man united in one person: his manhood giving him a capacity of suffering, and his Godhead giving a value to that suffering; and each nature united in one person to make a complete Redeemer; the Heir of all things; the Prince of Life; the Light that lighteneth every man that comes into the world. As touching his divine nature, God over all, blessed for ever; and as touching his human nature, full of grace and truth: and in both, the beloved Son of the eternal God, in whom he proclaimed him-

self well pleased. But could no other person be found, that might suffer for the sins of man, but the Son of God? Or, if the business of our salvation must be transacted by him alone, could it not be without suffering, and such suffering as this? No. As there was no other name given under heaven, by which we might be saved, nor was there any found besides in the compass of the whole world, that could expiate for one sin of man, but it must be the arm of the Almighty that must bring salvation; so if the blessed Son of God will undertake the business, and become Captain of our Salvation, he must be made perfect by suffering. And, if he will stand instead of man, he must bear the wrath of his Father; if he will become sin for man, though he knew no sin, he must become a curse for man. And doubtless this great mystery of the person that suffered, cannot choose but be a very high and excellent subject of knowledge; so full of wonder and astonishment, that the angels gaze into it. And as it is a strange and wonderful thing in itself, so doubtless it was ordained to high and wonderful ends, bearing a suitableness unto the greatness of the instrument. This therefore is the first consideration, that advanceth the excellency of this knowledge; the Person, that was crucified.

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After considering "the end and scope of the admirable love of Christ in it's double reference to God, as restoring unto him the active service and glory of his creature, and manifesting unto men and angels the infinite perfection and excellence of all his blessed attributes;" he considers, in reference to Man, the ends of our Lord's suffering as principally these:

1. To absolve and deliver him from guilt, the

consequence of sin, and misery the fruit of guilt: in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins. And surely, had the fruit of Christ's death rested here, it had been a great degree of mercy; if we rightly weighed the heaviness of the burthen of guilt, the severity of the wrath of God, and the extremity of that misery that doth and must attend it. If a man under the guilt and horror of some hideous treason, under the severe and inexorable sentence of the laws against him, under the imminent infliction of most exquisite and continuing torments, should but hear of a pardon and discharge from this; how welcome would it be, though the residue of his life were to be spent in exile! But our Lord's purchase rests not here.

2. To reconcile God to his creature. So that it doth not only remove the effects of the anger of God, which is punishment, which may be removed, and yet the anger continuing. Nor doth it only remove the anger of God, and leave a man in a kind of state of indifferency, as it is between persons that never were acquainted one with another; but it is a state of reconciliation: That he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. And certainly this is a great addition unto the former, that God in Christ should only pass by our sins, but would no longer look upon us as strangers, but as persons reconciled unto him. And surely a soul sensible of the unhappy condition of being estranged from God, how highly would he prize a state of reconciliation, though it were in the meanest and lowest relation? I am no more worthy to be called



thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants : So that I may not be estranged from thee, reconcile me unto thyself, though in the condition of thy meanest servant. But neither doth the happy fruit of our Lord's suffering rest here.

3. To restore unto us that near and blessed relation of being sons of God. That we might receive the adoption of sons. Behold now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be. This was that dear expression of our Lord, after his resurrection : Go to my brethren, and tell them I ascend unto my Father and your Father, to my God and your God. He seems to interest them, in this blessed relation, in a kind of equality with himself; my Brethren, my Father and your Father, and the sweet and comfortable consequents of this are incomparable. Is he my Father? Then I know he can pity me, as a father pitieth his children; he can pardon and spare me, as a father spareth his son that serves him. Is he my Father? Then whither should I go but to him for protection in all my dangers, for directions in all my difficulties, for satisfaction in all my doubts, for supply in all my wants? This I can with confidence expect from a poor earthly father, according to the compass of his abilities. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good things unto your children, how much more shall your Father, who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him. Mercy, and compassion, and love, is a virtue in a man, in an earthly father, a piece of that image of God which at first he imprinted on man; and yet passion and human infirmity, as it hath much weakened the habit thereof in us, so it may suspend the exercise thereof to a near relation: but in Almighty •

God these virtues are in their perfection, and nothing at all in him that can remit it. Mercy and tenderness are attributes which he delights in, mercy pleaseth him; it was the great attribute he proclaimed his name by, and so diffusive is his mercy that it extends to all. He is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works, and not only to the just and good, but even to the unkind; causing his sun to shine upon the evil and the good: and surely he, that hath mercy and goodness for an enemy, cannot deny it unto a child. Can a mother forget her sucking child, &c.? yea she may forget: yet will I not forget thee; saith the Lord.

‘To restore us to a most sure, everlasting, and blessed inheritance in heaven. If a son, then an heir of God through Christ: and here is the complement of all; not only absolved from the guilt of sin, reconciled to God, put into the relation of a child of God; but after all this, to be everlastingly and unchangeably stated into a blessed condition unto all eternity: and all this from the condition of a most vile, sinful, lost creature, and by such a price as the blood of Christ!’ More need not, cannot be said.

‘And by what hath been said, it is easy to see what the fruits and effects of this are. God will not be disappointed in the end of so great a work, and therefore we cannot be disappointed in the fruit of it; and those are either such as are enjoyed in this life, or principally appropriated to that which is to come.

‘Those benefits that naturally arise from Christ Crucified, and are enjoyed in this life, are these:

‘1. Justification and acceptation in the sight of God; he looks upon us as those, that have satisfied his justice when his Son suffered; and as those that

performed his will, when his Son performed it: so that, as our Lord imputed our sins to our Redeemer, he imputes his righteousness unto us; and as he was well pleased with him, so he was well pleased, in him, with as many as are received into this covenant.

‘ 2. Peace with God. This is the natural consequence of the former. Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. The only cause of breach between God and his creature is removed, and peace and love restored between them.

‘ 3. Free access unto God. For we are restored unto peace with him, and consequently access unto him; and indeed it is a part of that duty, which he expects from us. Our access to him is not only our privilege, as the access of a subject to his prince, or a child to his father; but it is our duty, as a thing enjoined unto us in testimony of our dependence and love to him.

‘ 4. Consequently, peace with our own selves, and our own conscience; and that upon a double ground. 1. Because our conscience is sprinkled by the blood of Christ, which defaceth and obliterateth all those black items, that otherwise would be continually calling upon us: 2. Because conscience ever sideth with God, whose vicegerent she is in the soul, and hath the very same aspect for the most part that heaven hath: and therefore, if it be clear above, it is ordinarily quiet within; and if God speaks peace, the conscience, unless distempered, doth not speak trouble.

‘ 5. An assurance of a continual supply of sufficient grace, to lead us through this vale of trouble, without a final apostasy or falling from him. Were

our salvation in our own hands, or managed by our own strength, we should utterly lose it every moment: but the power, and truth, and love of God is engaged in a covenant of the highest solemnity that ever was, sealed in the blood of the Son of God, for our preservation; and it shall be as impossible for us to fall from that condition, as for the Almighty God to be disappointed. No, his counsel and truth, the constant supply of the blessed Spirit of Christ, shall keep alive that seed of life, that he had thrown into his soul. For his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

‘ 6. Sufficient grace to preserve us from, or support us in, or deliver us out of, temptations. We stand more in need of grace, than we do of our bread; because the consequence of the want of the former is of more danger than the latter, by so much as the soul is more valuable than the body. If our Father is pleased to furnish us with our daily bread, how shall he then deny us our daily and hourly supplies of his grace? Especially, since our interest therein is founded upon the covenant made in the blood of Christ: My grace is sufficient for thee.

‘ 7. A favourable acceptation of our duties; since they are the performances of children, and therefore not measured according to their own worth, but according to the relation and affection whence they proceed.

‘ 8. A gentle and merciful pardon of our failings, even as a father pitieth and pardoneth the infirmities of a child, and though he does not dispense with presumptuous offences, yet he either observes not, or forgives their many infirmities. And it is a privilege of high concernment to us, that as in our first con-

version the blood of Christ washeth away a whole life of sins at once, so after our conversion the same fountain stands open, whereunto we may and must resort to cleanse our daily failings. Christ received by faith in the heart is a continual sacrifice, which I may present unto the Father, for my sins committed after my conversion.

‘ 9. A comfortable restitution of a just interest in the creatures. When man forsook the allegiance he owed to his Maker, the interest he had in the creature did, as it were, escheat to the Lord: and though his goodness afterward permitted him the use of them, yet it was still, as it were, upon account: and, as the sons of men have a great account to give unto God for their sins, so they have for his creatures. Christ hath restored unto us a better propriety in that, which civil right hath made ours, than what we had before.

‘ 10. A comfortable and sanctified use of all conditions: in prosperity, moderation; in adversity, contentedness; in all, sobriety. For as our Lord hath purchased for our grace, to use all things aright, so he hath obtained for us an inheritance that renders the best the world can give us unworthy to be valued, and the worst it can give us unworthy to be feared, in respect of the blessedness which he hath settled upon us.

‘ 11. Consequently, contempt of the world; because higher matters are in my eye, such as the best the world can yield cannot equal, nor the worst it can inflict cannot take away. All this upon,

‘ 12. A lively hope, a hope that maketh not ashamed; even of that glory, which my Saviour came down from heaven to purchase by his blood. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go, and prepare a

place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, ye may be also. A hope of a blessed resurrection after death; a hope of that blessed appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; a hope of that glorious sentence, in the presence of men and angels, 'Come, ye blessed,' and a hope of an everlasting estate of blessedness and glory in the presence of the great God, and glorified saints and angels, unto all eternity. And the efficacy of this hope, dipped in the blood of Christ, brings us victory.

1. Victory over sin. Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace. He that hath this hope purifieth himself, even as he is pure.

2. Victory over the world, in the best it can afford us; its flatteries, and favours. These are too small and inconsiderable, when compared with this hope: they shine like a candle in the sun, and are ineffectual to win over a soul that is fixed in this hope, and victory over the worst the world can inflict. Our Lord hath conquered the world in this respect for us: Be not afraid, I have overcome the world: and conquered death in us; This is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith.

3. Victory over death; which now, by means of this blessed hope, is stripped as well of her terror as her power; thus Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

And now though the nature of this argument hath carried my meditation to a great height, yet to avoid mistakes, some things I must subjoin.

1. That when I thus aggravate the sufferings of our Lord under the imputed guilt of the sins of mankind; yet we must not think that his sufferings were

the same with the damned in duration, so neither in kind nor in degree: for this could neither consist with the purity of his nature, nor innocence, nor dignity of his person, nor the hypostatical union of both natures in him. But he suffered as much, as was consistent with these considerations; and as considering the dignity of his person, was equivalent to the sin and demerits of all mankind.

‘ 2. That his righteousness, imputed to us, doth not exempt us from acquiring a righteousness inherent in us. This were to disappoint the end of his suffering, which was to redeem us from our vain conversation, and make us a peculiar people zealous of good works.

‘ 3. That this purchase of salvation by Christ for believers is not to render them idle, or secure, or presumptuous: where there is such a disposition of soul, it is an evident indication, that it is not yet truly united unto Christ by true faith and love; his grace is sufficient to preserve us, and always ready to do it, if we do not wilfully neglect, or reject it.’

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Judge Hale left also some Poems, of a religious description, written chiefly upon several Anniversaries of his Saviour's Birth, from 1651 to 1668 inclusive, if the four undated may be ascribed to that interval; in which case, only one will be wanting to render the series complete. That of 1663, as a specimen of his poetical piety, is here attached.

‘ WHEN the great lamp of Heaven, the glorious Sun,  
Had touch'd this southern period, and begun  
To leave the Winter tropic, and to climb  
The Zodiac's ascending Signs; that time

The brighter Sun of Righteousness did choose,  
His beams of light and glory to disclose  
To our dark lower world; and by that ray  
To chase the darkness, and to make it day.  
And lest the glorious and resplendent light  
Of his Eternal Beam might be too bright  
For mortal eyes to gaze upon, he shrouds  
And clothes his fiery pillar with the clouds  
Of human flesh; that in that dress he may  
Converse with men, acquaint them with the way  
To Life and Glory, show his Father's mind  
Concerning them, how bountiful and kind  
His thoughts were to them; what they might expect  
From him, in the observance or neglect  
Of what he did require: and then he seal'd,  
With his dear blood, the truth he had reveal'd.'



## ANDREW MARVELL.\*

[1620—1678.]

**ANDREW MARVELL**, the son of the Rev. Andrew Marvell, minister and schoolmaster of Kingston upon Hull in Yorkshire,† was born in the year 1620; and discovering a genius for letters, was sent at the early age of thirteen, with an exhibition belonging to his native place, to Trinity College, Cambridge. He had not been long however at the University, before (like Chillingworth) he was enticed from his studies by the Jesuits, and carried to London. Fortunately his father received timely intelligence of this seduction, and persuaded him to return to college, where he applied to his studies with great assiduity, and took the degree of B. A. in 1639.‡ About this time he lost his father by an accident, of which the particulars are thus re-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Cooke's *Life of Marvell* (prefixed to his Works, 1712), Macaulay's *History of England*, and *Biographia Britannica*.

† "He died," says his son, "before the war broke out, having lived with some reputation both for piety and learning; and he was moreover a conformist to the established rites of the Church of England, though (I confess) none of the most over-running, or eager in them." ('Rehearsal Transposed,' II.)

‡ From the records of Trinity College, it appears that he was, with some others, excluded from its benefits (probably, a scholarship) for non-attendance, in 1641.

lated: On the opposite shore of the Humber, lived a lady of exemplary virtue and good sense, between whom and Mr. Marvell a close friendship subsisted. This lady had an only daughter, of whom she was so tenderly fond, that she could scarcely suffer her to be out of her sight. Upon the earnest request of Mr. Marvell, however, she was permitted to pay him a visit at Hull, as godmother to one of his children. The next day, the wind was so high and the passage so dangerous, that the watermen earnestly dissuaded her from returning. But knowing that her mother would be miserable till she saw her again, she thought it better to hazard her life than prolong the anxiety of an affectionate parent: upon which Mr. Marvell, having with difficulty prevailed upon some watermen to attempt the passage, determined to accompany her. Just as they put off, he flung his gold-headed cane to some friends on shore, desiring them to 'give it to his son if he should be lost, and bid him remember his father.' His fears were too prophetic: the boat upset, and they both perished. The mother of the young lady was, for some time, inconsolable. When her grief however subsided, she reflected on young Marvell's loss, and determined to supply to him the want of a father: she undertook the charge of his subsequent education and made him her heir.\*

With the assistance of this inheritance, he was enabled to travel through most of the civilised countries of Europe. From his satirical poem, entitled, 'Flecknoe, an English Priest at Rome,' it appears that he had visited that city, where indeed he is be-

\* Some other circumstances of a superstitious nature are usually introduced into this narrative; but they are not of a description to demand preservation.

heved to have composed it. In France, likewise, he found a subject for his poetical talent in Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, a French Abbé, who pretended to determine the characters of persons whom he had never seen, and to prognosticate their future good or ill fortune from their hand-writing: these absurdities he ridiculed in a Latin poem addressed to him, and written upon the spot.\* At Constantinople, also, he appears to have passed some time in the capacity of Secretary to the English Embassy. In 1653, he was employed by Oliver Cromwell, as preceptor to a young gentleman of the name of Dutton; and, in 1657, he was associated with Milton as assistant Latin Secretary to the Protector. "I never had any, not the remotest relation to public matters (he himself says) nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, until the year 1657; when indeed I entered into an employment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I considered to be the most innocent and inoffensive toward his Majesty's affairs, of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed—and this I accordingly discharged, without disobliging any one person: there having been opportunity and endeavours, since his Majesty's happy return, to have discovered, had it been otherwise."

His lines, † with those of Dr. Samuel Barrow upon

\* See the Extracts at the end of the Life. This composition Philips notices in his 'Freethinker,' No. 253; in which he gives a short account of the Abbé. From the subject of his preceding poem, Mr. Richard Flecknoe, a wretched poetaster, Dryden gave the name of 'Mac-Flecknoe' to his satire against Shadwell.

† See the Extracts. They were prefixed to the second edition of that immortal poem, and (to adopt Dr. Symmons' expres-

the 'Paradise Lost,' of his illustrious colleague, first drew the attention of the public to a poem, which has since been deservedly placed on a level with the noblest productions of antiquity. A short time before the Restoration, he was chosen to represent his native town in parliament, and continued to discharge that honourable function till his death. At the beginning of the new reign, he probably thought the parliamentary business of inferior importance; as he was absent in Holland and Germany between the years 1660 and 1663 (upon what account, however, is uncertain) and not long after his return, accompanied Lord Carlisle on his embassy to the northern courts, as his Secretary. It was not till the parliament of October 1665, that his attendance in the House of Commons seems to have been uninterrupted. In this office, it was his custom to send the proceedings of that assembly on matters of consequence to his principal constituents, always subjoining his opinion on the subject: and such was their sense of his merits, that they allowed him an honourable pension in return for his services, and invariably treated him with the greatest respect.\*

sions) are "as reputable to his judgement and poetic talent, as they are to his friendship."

\* It is to be regretted, that these bonds of integrity and gratitude have generally ceased to exercise this creditable influence in English boroughs, under the fatal talisman of—a third man! Marvell was the last, who received a pension from his constituents; and he well deserved it by his diligence, his firmness, and his incorruptibility. "Of all men, indeed, in his station (observes Aikin) he deserves best to be selected as an example of the genuine independence produced by a philosophical limitation of wants and desires. He was not to be purchased, because he wanted nothing that money could buy; and held cheap all titular honours, in comparison with the approbation of his conscience,

Marvell,\* indeed, though he seldom spoke in parliament, by his great influence without doors, and the way in which it was exerted, merited the applause not only of his constituents but also of all his countrymen for his incorruptible integrity. We are told, that he had made himself obnoxious to government, both by his actions and his writings; though his patriotism did not render him personally unacceptable to his witty and profligate sovereign. Having one night been entertained by Charles II., who took great delight in his company, he was surprised the next day by a visit from the Lord Treasurer at his lodgings up two pair of stairs in a court in the Strand. He was writing, when Danby abruptly opened the door. Upon his observing to him, however, that he must have mistaken his way, the Treasurer replied, "Not now I have found Mr. Marvell;" adding, that 'his Majesty wished to know what he could do to serve him.' In answer to this, he remarked, 'he

and the esteem of the wise and the virtuous." Hence Mason, in his 'Ode to Independence,' says:

" In awful poverty his honest Muse  
Walks forth, vindictive, through a venal land;  
In vain Corruption sheds her golden dews,  
In vain Oppression lifts her iron hand:  
He scorns them both, and arm'd with truth alone,  
Bid Lust and Folly tremble on the throne."

\* His power over Prince Rupert was such, that whenever he voted (as he frequently did) according to the sentiments of Marvell, the adverse party used to observe, 'He has been with his tutor.' Nay, even in later days, when it was unsafe for Marvell to have it known where he lived, the Prince frequently visited him in the habit of a private person in order to enjoy his conversation. The patriot Earl of Devonshire, also, was one of his intimate friends.

knew the nature of courts too well, not to be sensible that whoever is distinguished by a prince's favour, is expected to surrender to him his vote : that, of course, he could not accept with honour offers which would reduce him to the painful alternative of being either ungrateful to his king, or false to his country : and the only favour, therefore, which he would request of his Majesty was, that he would deem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and more in his proper interest by refusing his offers than if he had embraced them.' Lord Danby then informed him, that ' his royal master had ordered a thousand pounds for him, which he hoped he would accept : ' but this last offer was rejected with the same steadiness as the former ; though, soon after the departure of his noble visitor, he was obliged to borrow a guinea from a friend.

In 1672, with a spirit becoming his patriotic character, he engaged in a controversy with Dr. Samuel Parker, at that time Archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterward Bishop of Oxford. This divine had affected to signalise his zeal for the Hierarchy, by defending and encouraging intolerance toward Non-conformists. In 1670, he published a book entitled, ' Ecclesiastical Polity,' and the following year, ' A Defence of it : ' but what particularly roused Marvell to the attack was his Preface to Bishop Bramhall's ' Vindication of Himself and the rest of the Episcopal Clergy from the Presbyterian Charge of Popery ; ' in which, with strong expressions in favour of unlimited monarchy,\* he recommended a rigorous prosecution of

\* " It is better," he affirms, " to submit to the unreasonable impositions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the dissolution of the state! "—" It is absolutely necessary, indeed, to the peace and government of the world, that the supreme government of

all dissenters. Fully convinced of the dangerous tendency of such doctrines, Marvell determined to expose their author. This he happily effected by a tract called, 'The Rehearsal Transposed, &c. or Animadversions upon a late Book, intituled, "A Preface showing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery." London, printed by A. B. for the Assigns of John Calvin and Theodore Beza, at the sign of the King's Indulgence, on the South-side of the Lake Lemman, 1672.' in which, with great strength of argument and considerable wit and humour, he points out the absurdity of his antagonist's tenets.\* To this the Doctor published an anonymous answer; upon which Marvell, in 1673, drew up his 'Second Part of his Rehearsal Transposed;' occasioned by two letters, the first from a nameless author entitled, 'The Reproof, &c.:' the second left at a friend's house with the signature J. G., and concluding, "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Doctor Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Several other anonymous pieces were published, about the same time, in favour of Parker; but the patriot, nevertheless (not confining his remarks to the 'Preface' and the 'Reproof' of his Adversary, but exposing likewise

every commonwealth should be vested with a power to govern and conduct the consciences of subjects in affairs of religion!"—"Tenderness and indulgence to such men (sectarians) were to nourish vipers in our own bowels, and the most sottish neglect of our quiet and security!"

\* See the Extracts. At this time, as Burnet observes, "the court had given such broad intimations of an ill design, both on our religion and the civil constitution, that it was no more a jealousy; all was, now, open and barefaced."

and confuting various positions advanced in his 'Ecclesiastical Polity' and its 'Defence') silenced the priest, and humbled his whole party. Even the King himself, in behalf of whose power Parker had written, was charmed with the wit of the 'Rehearsal': it was read, with avidity, by all ranks of people; and the Archdeacon, driven as it were from London by his defeat, did not again make his appearance in print for many years.\*

From this time to the year 1676, Marvell attended closely to the duties of his parliamentary trust, without engaging in controversial writing, his hours of leisure being chiefly employed in transmitting to his constituents and friends accounts of public measures and courtly intrigues. These Epistles are preserved in his works.

In the year last-mentioned, he published another controversial piece entitled, 'Mr. Smirke, or the Divine in Mode, being certain Annotations upon the Animadversions on 'The Naked Truth.' Together with

\* Wood himself, though of Parker's party, says in his '*Athenæ Oxonienses*,' that "it was thought by many of those, who were otherwise favourers of Parker's cause, that the victory lay on Marvell's side;—and for ever after it took down Parker's high spirit." Burnet represents him, as successfully attacked by the "liveliest droll of the age;" and Swift, in his 'Apology to the Tale of a Tub' remarks, "we still read Marvell's answer to Parker with pleasure (as the work of 'a great genius') though the book it answers be sunk long ago."

The title of the book was taken from the 'Rehearsal,' a witty comedy, which appeared to Marvell to furnish a parallel to his adversary in the incoherent and ridiculous character of Bays. In the subsequent work, he denominates the Rev. Dr. Turner 'Mr. Smirk,' from a character in the comedy of the 'Man of Mode.'



a Short Historical Essay concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion.\* 'The Naked Truth' had been more particularly directed against Dr. Turner, then Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, a great defender of ecclesiastical authority. An answer to it, under the title of 'Animadversions on the Naked Truth,' appeared soon after its publication; but the writer was not known: as it was suspected, however, to be his old antagonist Parker, Marvell once more took up his masterly pen in opposition to him, and a second time silenced his high-church adversary.

Having completed his victory over the advocates for spiritual despotism, he resolved to attempt a similar conquest in respect to political tyranny. This gave birth to his 'Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England; more particularly from the long prorogation of November 1675, ending February 15, 1676, till the last meeting of parliament, July 16, 1677.'† In this work, the principles of our excellent constitution are clearly laid down; the legal authority of the Kings of England is precisely ascertained; and the glory of the monarch, and the happiness of the people, are proved equally to depend upon a strict observance of their respective obligations. In comparing the sovereigns

\* First printed in the name of Andreas Rivetus, junior, of which the Anagram is, *Res Nuda Veritas*. The 'Naked Truth,' published anonymously in the preceding year, by 'An Humble Moderator,' was the production of Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford.

† He wrote, also, 'A Seasonable Question, and an Useful Answer;' and 'A Seasonable Argument to the Grand Juries of England to Petition for a New Parliament.'

of England with other potentates, he observes:—  
“ The kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects; but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection, than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to do all that is evil.”

He, likewise, draws a striking contrast of the miseries of a nation living under a Popish administration, and the blessings enjoyed under a Protestant government; nor can a stronger proof be adduced of the complexion of the reigning politics of that æra, than the disgust excited at court by the free sentiments contained in this work. It has been denied by some historians, that Charles II. either encouraged Popery, or governed arbitrarily: and yet Marvell's publication was stiled in the Gazette ‘a seditious and scandalous libel,’ and a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the discovery of the hander of it to the press, and of 50*l.* for that of the author, printer, or publisher. No prosecution, however, ensued. But Marvell had now rendered himself so obnoxious to the venal friends of a corrupt court, and to the heir presumptive, James Duke of York (himself a bigoted Papist) that he was beset on all sides by powerful enemies, who even proceeded so far as to menace his life. Hence, he was obliged to use great caution, to appear seldom in public, and frequently to conceal the place of his abode: but all

his care, it is to be feared, proved ineffectual to preserve him from their vengeance; for he died in August, 1678, not without strong suspicions (as his constitution was still entire and vigorous) of having suffered under the effect of poison. The public, however, reaped the benefits of his patriotism the following year. His speeches, and writings, had opened the eyes of several members of the House of Commons; and those, who had long been obsequious to government now formed so strong an opposition to it's measures, that the King found himself under the necessity, in the beginning of 1679, of dissolving this favourite assembly, which with the exception of one prorogation had sat for eighteen years under the odious epithet of 'The Pensionary Parliament.' The new parliament, which met in March 1679, seemed to have imbibed the sentiments of the deceased Marvell: the growth of Popery, the arbitrary measures of the ministry, and the expediency of excluding the Duke of York from the succession, being the chief objects which engaged their attention. This produced their dissolution in the following July. But the spirit of civil liberty having now gone forth among the people, the next parliament, which assembled in 1680, still more steadily opposed the Popish succession, and was therefore, like it's predecessor, prematurely dissolved in 1681. From the ashes of Andrew Marvell had sprung up, as it were, a new race of patriots, whose hostility to the court made the ministry dread a new election; and though some of them fell a sacrifice to their zeal, it may with truth be asserted, that their vigorous integrity laid the foundation of the glorious Revolution.

Marvell was a dark-complexioned man, with an expressive countenance; silent and reserved among strangers, but in the company of his intimates lively and facetious.\* His early poems express a fondness for the charms of rural nature, with much delicacy of sentiment; and are full of fancy, after the manner of Cowley and his contemporaries. His great wit was debased indeed, as it has been observed, by the coarseness of the time, and his imagination by its conceits; but he had a true, and a fine, vein of poetry. On his tomb, indeed, as Dr. Symmons observes,† with the strictest adherence to truth might have been inscribed, “Here lies a truly invaluable man, the scholar, the wit, the firm and zealous friend, the disinterested and incorruptible patriot!” That such a man would not be indifferent to the danger of his illustrious colleague Milton,‡ after the Restoration,

\* Of a middling stature, says Aubrey, pretty strong set, roundish-faced, cherry-cheeked, hazel-eyed, and brown-haired; in his conversation (as Wood also observes) very modest, and of very few words. He was wont to assert, that ‘he would not drink high or freely with any one, with whom he would not trust his life.’

† In his ‘Life of Milton.’

‡ This great man Marvel thus characterises, in his ‘Rehearsal Transposed,’ II. “John Milton was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side; and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises. At his Majesty’s happy return John Milton did partake, even as you, yourself (Secretary Parker) did, for all your puffing, of his regal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence.

“It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally.—Then it was,

may fairly be presumed. Great interest must, undoubtedly, have been exerted to prevent the exception of that obnoxious name from the Act of Oblivion. His offence, in defending the execution of Charles I., adds the same spirited writer, might in some points of view be regarded as greater even than that of the immediate regicides who had murdered the King, while he had insulted the office; whose act was confined in its consequences to a small compass of time and of place, while his extended to unborn generations, and touched the extremities of Europe. The forgetfulness or the clemency of the new Sovereign must, necessarily, be thrown out of the question: for, of the former, his benefactors only were the objects; and, of the latter, those alone whom his prudence or his want of power prohibited him to punish. And accordingly to the interposition of Marvell, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Secretary Morrice, and above all the grateful Sir William D'Avenant, who had in 1651 through Milton's mediation escaped an equal hazard, we find ascribed the preservation of his invaluable life.

when you (as I told you) wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologising upon the duration of his Majesty's government, that you frequented John Milton incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your scaramuccios and in your own person as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived much more ingenuously than yourself—to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy opportunity to do—it is inhumanly, and inhospitably, done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say, such a Judas, but) a man that creeps into all companies to jeer, trepan, and betray them."

To Marvell have been ascribed (among others by Mr. Warton) the lines sent, with a portrait of the Protector, to Christina queen of Sweden.

*Bellipotens Virgo, septem regina trionum,  
Christina, Arctoi lucida stella poli!  
Cernis quas merui durâ sub casside rugas,  
Utque senex armis impiger ora tero;  
Invia fatorum dum per vestigia niter,  
Exequor et populi fortia jussa manu.  
Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra:  
Non sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.\**

But, as these lines (evidently within the province of the Latin Secretary) must have been written before 1654, in which year Christina abdicated her throne, and Marvell only became the colleague of Milton in that office in 1657, it is not likely that the latter should have solicited aid upon the occasion, particularly as from other parts of his works it appears the Swedish Queen was a great object of his regard. He could hardly, by the disuse of a few years, have lost his facility in the constructing of Latin verse. Their being found in a posthumous publication of Marvell's works is, surely, of no consequence, as Marvell might have left a casual copy of them among his manuscripts: and therefore to Milton

\* Thus translated by Dr. Symmons:

*'Imperial maid, great arbitress of war,  
Queen of the Pole, yourself it's brightest star!  
Christina, view this helmet-furrow'd brow.  
This age, that arms have worn, but cannot bow:  
As through the pathless wilds of fate I press,  
And hear the people's purpose to success;  
Yet see! to you this front submits its pride:  
Thrones are not always by its frown defied.'*

they are assigned by the high authorities of Bishop Newton, Dr. Birch, Mr. Dunster, and Dr. Symmons.

In 1688, the inhabitants of Hull, who had not dared to declare their feelings under the two preceding princes, to testify their grateful remembrance of his patriotic services, collected a sum of money for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory, in the church of St. Giles in the Fields, London, where he was interred: but the Rector of the day would not suffer it to be placed within it's walls. The epitaph, drawn up on the occasion, is a manly composition, and exhibits a bright example of active and incorruptible patriotism.

Near this place

Lieth the Body of ANDREW MARVELL, Esq.

A man so endowed by nature,  
 So improved by education, study, and travel,  
 So consummated by experience and learning;  
 That, joining the most peculiar grace of wit  
 With a singular penetration and strength of judgement,  
 And exercising all these in the whole course of his life  
 With unalterable steadiness in the ways of virtue,  
 He became the ornament and example of his age;  
 Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;  
 Though imitated, alas! by few;  
 And scarce paralleled by any.  
 But a tomb-stone can neither contain his character,  
 Nor is marble necessary to transmit it to posterity:  
 It is engraved on the minds of this generation,  
 And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.

Nevertheless,

He having served near twenty years successively in parliament,  
 And that with such wisdom, dexterity, integrity, and courage,  
 As became a true Patriot;  
 The town of Kingston upon Hull,  
 From whence he was constantly deputed to that assembly,

Lamenting in his death the public loss,  
Have erected this monument of their grief and gratitude,  
1688.

He died in the 58th year of his age,  
On the 16th day of August, 1678.

*Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terrestria vana!*  
*Heu quàm spectatum continet urna virum!*

After his death appeared in folio, in 1681, 'Miscellaneous Poems,' accompanied by an advertisement signed 'Mary Marvell,' in which the ingenious reader was assured that they were printed according to the exact copies of her "late dear husband." But Cooke, who gave the public an edition of them in 2 vols. 12mo. in 1726,\* asserts that this was a mere catch-penny affair, and that he merely lodged with the woman, never having been married.

An edition of his works, in three volumes quarto, was published by Captain Edward Thompson, in 1776, with a new Life of the Author: but several compositions, usually ascribed to other writers, have been claimed for him by his biographer, on the incompetent authority of a manuscript book partly in his hand-writing. To this publication Mr. Thomas Hollis largely contributed, by giving all the MSS. and scarce tracts which he had collected, when he himself meditated an edition of the same author. His own project having failed in 1765 through the discouragement of Bowyer, who appears to have declined the undertaking rather from an apprehension that the work would not sell sufficiently to defray the expense, than out of any party considerations (as that worthy and learned printer made no scruple

\* Reprinted, by Davies, in 1772.



to engage about the same time in other works, which were in their contents not less obnoxious to the ruling powers) he resolved to aid that of Captain Thompson by all the means within his reach. His 'Memoirs' contain a head of this illustrious patriot, inscribed 'The last Commoner, who received allowance from his constituents, and the friend and protector of

JOHN MILTON.

Drawn and etched 1760, by J. B. Cipriani, a Florentine, from a portrait painted in the year 1660.

But whether Fate or Art untwined his thread,  
Remains in doubt: Fame's lasting register  
Shall leave his name enroll'd as great as those,  
Who at Philippi for their country fell.'

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EXTRACT

*From 'the Rehearsal Transposed.'*

—' Yet our author (Parker) is very maidenly, and condescends to his bookseller not without some reluctance, as being forsooth first of all, *none of the most zealous patrons of the press.*

' Though he hath so lately forfeited his credit, yet herein I dare believe him: for the press hath ought him a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the debt. The press (that villainous engine) invented much about the same time with the Reformation, that hath done more mischief to the discipline of our Church, than all the doctrine can make amends for. It was an happy time, when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge, than to read

the Liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now, since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book but presently he is answered. Could the press but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our author might not disdain perhaps to be one of it's most zealous patrons. There have been ways found out to banish ministers, to fine not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled in conventicles: but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three brawny fellows in a corner, with mere ink and elbow grease, do more harm than an hundred schismatical divines with their sweaty preaching. And, which is a strange thing, the very sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used to that purpose, are become now the instruments to make things legible. Their ugly printing-letters, that look but like so many rotten teeth, how oft have they been pulled out by B. and L., the public tooth-drawers! and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O Printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! that lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal, as when founded into letters! There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus; and the serpent's teeth, which he sowed, were nothing else but the letters which he invented. The first essay, that was made toward this art, was in single characters upon iron, wherewith of old they stigmatised slaves and remarkable offenders; and it was of good use, sometimes, to brand a schismatic. But a

bulky Dutchman diverted it quite from it's first institution, and contriving those innumerable syntagms of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since with the gross bodies of their German divinity. One would have thought in reason, that a Dutchman at least might have contented himself only with the wine-press.

‘ But, next of all, our author beside his aversion from the press alleges, that “ he is as much concerned as De Witt, or any of the ‘ high and mighty ’ burgo-masters, in matters of a closer and more comfortable importance to himself and his own affairs.” And yet whoever shall take the pains to read over his preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the succession, the Privy Council, Popery, Atheism, Bishops, Ecclesiastical government, and above all with non-conformity, and J. O.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ It is, however, indeed a most glorious design, to reconcile all the churches to one doctrine and communion (though some, that meddle in it, do it chiefly in order to fetter men straiter under the formal bondage of fictitious discipline); but it is a thing rather to be wished and prayed for, than to be expected from these kind of endeavours. It is so large a field, that no man can see to the end of it; and all, that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildered. That man must have a vast opinion of his own sufficiency, that can think he may by his oratory or reason, either in his own time, or at any of our author's more happy junctures of affairs, so far persuade and fascinate the Roman church (having by a regular contexture of continued policy for so many ages interwoven itself with the secular interest, and made itself

necessary to most princes, and having at last erected a throne of infallibility over the consciences) as to prevail with her to submit a power and empire, so acquired and established, in compromise to the arbitration of an humble proposer. God only in his own time, and by the inscrutable methods of his providence, is able to effect that alteration; though I think, too, he hath signified in part by what means he intends to accomplish it, and to range so considerable a church, and once so exemplary, into primitive unity and christian order. In the mean time, such projects are fit for pregnant scholars, that have nothing else to do, to go big with for forty years; and may qualify them to discourse with princes and statesmen, at their hours of leisure: but I never saw, that they came to use or possibility; no more than that of Alexander's architect, who proposed to make him a statue of the mountain Athos (and that was no molehill), and among other things, that statue to carry in it's hand a great habitable city. But the surveyor was gravelled, being asked 'whence that city should be supplied with water?' I would only have asked the Bishop, when he had carved and hammered the Romists and Protestants into one Collossian Church, 'How we should have done, as to matter of Bibles?' For the Bishop complains, that 'unqualified people should have a promiscuous licence to read the Scriptures:' and you may guess thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the laity should have been used. There have been attempts, in former ages, to dig through the separating Isthmus of Peloponnesus, and another to make communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean: Both more easy, than to cut this Ecclesiastic Canal; and yet both laid by,

partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected.

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“ There sprang up a mighty bramble on the south side the Lake Lemane, that (such is the rankness of the soil) spread and flourished with such a sudden growth, that partly by the industry of his agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalness, it quite over-ran the whole Reformation.” You must conceive, that Mr. Bayes was all this while in an ecstasy in Dodona’s Grove; or else here is strange work, worse than ‘explicating a post,’ or ‘examining a pillar!’ A bramble, that had ‘agents abroad!’ and itself ‘an indefatigable bramble!’ But straight our bramble is transformed to a man, and he makes a chair of infallibility for himself, out of his own bramble-timber. Yet, all this while, we know not his name. One would suspect it might be a Bishop Bramble. But then “he made himself both Pope and Emperor too, of the greatest part of the reformed world.” How near does this come to his commendation of Bishop Bramhall before? For our author seems copious, but is indeed very poor of expression: and, as smiling and frowning are performed in the face with the same muscles very little altered, so the changing of a line or two in Mr. Bayes at any time will make the same thing serve for a panegyric or a philippic. But what do you think of this man? Could Mistress Mopsa herself have furnished you with a more pleasant and worshipful tale? It wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with, “Once upon a time;” which Master Bayes, according to his accuracy, if he had thought on it, would never have omitted.

Yet some critical people, who will exact truth in falsehood, and tax up an old wife's fable to the punctuality of history, were blaming him the other day for placing this bramble on the south side of the Lake Lemane. I said, 'it was well and wisely done, that he chose a south sun for the better and more sudden growth of such a fruit-tree.' 'Aye,' said they, 'but he means Calvin by the bramble; and the rank soil on the south side the Lake Lemane is the city of Geneva, situate (as he would have it) on the south side of that Lake. Now it is strange that he, having travelled so well, should not have observed that the Lake lies east and west, and that Geneva is built at the west end of it.' 'Pish,' said I, 'that is no such great matter, and as Mr. Bayes hath it upon another occasion, "Whether it be so or no, the fortunes of Cæsar and the Roman empire are not concerned in it." One of the company would not let that pass, but told us 'if we looked in Cæsar's Commentaries, we should find their fortunes were concerned, for it was the Helvetian passage, and many mistakes might have risen in the marching of the army.' 'Why then,' replied I again, 'whether it be east, west, north, or south, there is neither vice nor idolatry in it; and the Ecclesiastical Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to acquiesce in his judgement, whatsoever may be your private opinion.' Another, to continue the mirth, answered, 'that yet there might be some religious consideration in building a town east and west, or north and south, and it was not a thing so indifferent as men thought it: but because in the Church of England, where the table is set altar-wise, the Minister is nevertheless obliged to stand at the north side, though

it be the north end of the table) it was fit to place the Geneva Presbyter, in diametrical opposition to him, upon the south side of the Lake.' But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was still upon the doubtful and excusing part, said, that 'to give the right situation of a town, it was necessary first to know in what position the gentleman's head then was when he made his observation, and that might cause a great diversity, as much as this came to.' 'Yes,' replied my next neighbour; 'or, perhaps some roguing boy that managed the puppets, turned the city wrong, and so disoccidented our geographer.' It was grown almost as good as a play among us: and at last they all concluded, that Geneva had sold Mr. Bayes a bargain, as the Moon served the Sun in the Rehearsal, and in good sooth had 'turned her breech on him.' But this I doubt not, Mr. Bayes will bring himself off with honour: but that which sticks with me is, that our author having undertaken to make Calvin and Geneva ridiculous, hath not pursued it to so high a point as the subject would have afforded. First, he might have taken the name of the beast Calvinus, and of that have given the Anagram *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turned him inside outward, and have made him *Usinulca*. That was a good hobgoblin name to have frightened children with. Then he should have been a bramble still, aye, an 'indefatigable bramble' too: but after that he should have continued (for in such a book a passage in a play is clear gain, and a great loss if omitted) and upon that bramble "reasons grew as plentiful as blackberries;" but both unwholesome, and they stained all the white aprons so, that there was no getting of

it out. And then, to make a fuller description of the place, he should have added; that near to the city of roaring lions there was a lake, and that lake was all of brimstone, but stored with overgrown trouts, which trouts spawned Presbyterians, and those spawned the Millecantons of all other fanatics. That this shoal of Presbyterians landed at Geneva, and devoured all the Bishop of Geneva's capons, which are of the greatest size of any in the Reformed world. And ever since their mouths have been so in relish, that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very cannibals of capons: insomuch that, if princes do not take care, the race of capons is in danger to be totally extinguished. But that the river Rhone was so "sober and intelligent," that it's waters would not mix with this "lake perilous," but run sheer through without ever touching it. Nay, such is it's apprehension lest the lake should overtake it, that the river dives itself under ground till the lake hath lost the scent: and yet when it rises again, imagining that the lake is still at it's heels, it runs on so impetuously, that it chooseth rather to pass through the roaring Lions, and never thinks itself safe till it hath taken sanctuary at the Pope's town of Avignon. He might too have proved, that Calvin made himself Pope and Emperor, because the city of Geneva stamps upon it's coin the two-headed imperial eagle. And, to have given us the utmost terror, he might have considered the alliance and vicinity of Geneva to the Canton of Bern, the arms of which city is the bear (and an argument in heraldry, even Bishop Bramhall himself being judge, might have also held in divinity); and, therefore, they keep under the town-house constantly a whole den of bears. So that there was



never a more dangerous situation, nor any thing so carefully to be avoided by all travellers in their wits, as Geneva: the lions on one side, and the bears on the other. This story would have been nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have been embellished with Mr. Bayes' allegorical eloquence.

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‘ But Mr. Bayes nevertheless is for his fifth, ‘ Persecution Recommended:’ and he does it to the purpose. Julian himself, who I think was first a reader, and held forth in the Christian churches before he turned apostate and then persecutor, could not have outdone him either in irony or cruelty. Only it is God’s mercy, that Mr. Bayes is not Emperor. You have seen, how he inveighs against trade: ‘ That whilst men’s consciences are acted by such peevish and ungovernable principles, to erect trading combinations is but to build so many nests of faction and sedition.’ Lay up your ships, my masters, set bills on your shop-doors, shut up the custom-house; and why not adjourn the term, mure up Westminster Hall, leave ploughing and sowing, and keep a dismal holy-day through the nation; for Mr. Bayes is out of humour. But, I assure you, it is no jesting matter. For he hath in one place taken a list of the fanatic ministers, whom he reckons to be but about a hundred systematical divines: though I believe the Bartlemew Register, or the March-licences, would make them about a hundred and three, or a hundred and four, or so. But this is but for rounder number, and breaks no square. And then for their people, either they live in greater societies of men (he means the city of London, and the other cities and towns-corporate, but expresses it so to prevent some inconvenience

that might betide them) “but there their noise is greater than their number;” or else in “country-towns and villages, where they arise not above the proportion of one to twenty.” It were not unwisely done indeed, if he could persuade the magistrate, that all the fanatics have but one neck, so that he might cut off non-conformity at one blow. I suppose the non-conformists value themselves though upon their conscience, and not their numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, lest he have taken a list of their names as well as their number, and have set crosses upon all their doors against there should be occasion. But till that happy juncture, when “Mr. Bayes should be fully avenged of his new enemies, the wealthy fanatics” (which is soon done too, for he saith, “there are but few of them men of estates or interest”) he is contented, that they should only be exposed—they are his own expressions—to the “pillories, whipping-posts, galleys, rods, and axes;” and, moreover and above, to all other punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature than those that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more than human clemency! I suppose the division betwixt immoralities and conscience is universal, and whatsoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their territories. So that, although a man should be guilty of all those heinous enormities which are not to be named among Christians, beside all lesser peccadilloes expressly against the Ten Commandments, or such other part of the divine law as shall be of the magistrate’s making, he shall be in a better condition and more gently handled than a well-meaning zealot; for this is the man, that Mr. Bayes saith, “is of all villains the most dangerous” (even more dan-

gerous, it seems, than a malicious and ill-meaning zealot); this is he, whom "in all kingdoms, where government is rightly understood," he would have condemned "to the galleys for his mistakes and abuses of religion." Although the other punishments are more severe, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot pass it by without some reflexion. For I considered, what princes make use of galleys. The first that occurred to me was the Turk, who according to Bayes' maxim hath established Mahometism among his subjects, as "the religion that he apprehends most advantageous to public peace and settlement." Now, in his empire, the Christians only are guilty of those "religious mistakes, that tend to the subversion of Mahometism;" so that he understands government rightly in chaining the Christians to the oar. But then in Christendom, all that I could think of were the King of France, the King of Spain, the Knights of Malta, the Pope, and the rest of the Italian princes. And these all have bound their subjects to the Romish religion, as most advantageous. But these people their galleys with immoral fellows and debauchees: whereas the Protestants, being their fanatics and mistakers in religion, should have been their *Ciurma*. But it is to be hoped these princes will take advice, and understand it better for the future. And then at last I remembered, that his Majesty too hath one galley lately built; but, I dare say, it is not with that intention: and our fanatics, though few, are so many, that one will not serve. But therefore, if Mr. Bayes and his partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole squadron for this use, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in novelties) and

it would be a singular obligation to Sir John Baptist Dutel, who might have some pretence to be General of his Majesty's galleys. But so much for that.

‘ Yet, in the mean time, I cannot but admire at Mr. Bayes’ courage; who knowing how ‘ dangerous a villain’ a well-meaning zealot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole nation, yet dares thus openly stimulate the magistrate against them, and talk of nothing less, but much more, than “ pillories, whipping-posts, galleys, and axes ” in this manner. It is sure some sign (and, if he knew not so much, he would scarce adventure) of the peaceableness of their principles, and of that restraint under which their tender consciences hold them; when nevertheless he may walk night and day in safety, though it were so easy a thing to deify the divine after the ancient manner, and no man be the wiser. But that which I confess would vex me most, were I either an ill or a well-meaning zealot, would be after all to hear him (as he frequently does) sneering at me in an ironical harangue, to persuade me forsooth to take all patiently for conscience-sake, and the good example of mankind; nay, to wheedle one almost to make himself away, to save the hangman a labour. It was indeed near that pass in the primitive times, and the tired magistrates asked them, ‘ Whether they had not halters and rivers, and precipices, if they were so greedy of suffering?’ But, by the good leave of your insolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi, sed Petro*: or rather, *sed Regi*. The non-conformists have suffered as well as any men in the world, and could do so still, if it were his Majesty’s pleasure. Their “ duty to God hath hallowed,” and their “ duty to the magistrate hath ex-

cused," both their pain and ignominy. To die by a noble hand, is some satisfaction: but when his Majesty, for reasons best known to himself, hath been graciously pleased to abate of your rigour; I hope, Mr. Bayes, that we shall not see, when you have a mind to junket with your "comfortable importance," that the entremesses shall be of a fanatic's giblets: nor that a non-conformist's head must be wiped off, as oft as your nose drivels. It is sufficient, Sir, we know your inclination, we know your abilities, and we know your lodging: and, when there is any farther occasion, you will doubtless be sent for. For, to say the truth, this Bayes is an excellent tool, and more useful than ten other men. I will undertake that he shall, rather than fail, be the trepanner, the informer, the witness, the attorney, the judge; and, if the non-conformist need the benefit of his book, he shall be Ordinary too, and say 'he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*,' and then (to do him the last Christian office) he would be his hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in speculation, secure of all the employments when they shall fall. For I know no gentleman, that will take any of them out of his hands, although it be an age wherein men cannot well support their quality without some accession from the public: and for the ordinary sort of people, they are, I know not by what disaster, besotted and abandoned to fanaticism. So that Mr. Bayes must either do it himself in person, or constitute the chief magistrate to be his deputy. But princes do indeed understand themselves better most of them, and do neither think it so safe to entrust a clergyman with their authority, nor decent for themselves to do the drudgery of the clergy. That would have passed in

the days of Saint Dominic: but when even the Inquisition hath lost it's edge in the Popish countries, there is little appearance it should be set up in England. It were a worthy spectacle, were it not? to see his Majesty (like the governor in Synesius) busied in his cabinet among those engines, whose very names are so hard that it is some torture to name them, the Podostrabee, the Dactylethree, the Otagree, the Rhinolabides, the Cheilostrophia; devising as they say there are particular diseases, so a peculiar rack for every limb and member of a Christian's body. Or, would he (with all reverence be it spoken) exchange his kingdom of England for that of Macassar; where the great arcanum of government is the cultivating of a garden of poisonous plants, and preparing thence a poison, in which the prince dips a dart, that where it does but draw blood, rots the person immediately to pieces: and his office is, with that to be the executioner of his subjects? God be praised, his Majesty is far of another temper: and he is wise, though some men be malicious!

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‘ One argument, I confess, remains still behind, and that will justify any thing. It is that, which I called lately *rationem ultimam Cleri*; force, law, execution, or what you will have it. I would not be mistaken, as though I hereby meant the body of the English clergy, who have been ever since the Reformation (I say it, without disparagement to the foreign churches) of the eminentest for divinity and piety in all Christendom. And as far am I from censuring, under this title, the Bishops of England; for whose function, their learning, their persons, I have too deep a veneration to speak any thing of them irreverently. But

those that I intend only, are a particular bran of persons, who will in spite of fate be accounted the Church of England, and to show they are pluralists, never write in a modester stile than 'We, We;' nay, even these, several of them, are men of parts sufficient to deserve a rank among the teachers and governors of the Church. Only what Bishop Bramhall saith of Grotius' defect in school-divinity,

*Unum hoc maceror, et doleo tibi deesse,*

I may apply to their excess and rigour in matter of discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into power or office, did ever make the least experiment or overture toward the peace of the church and nation they lived in. They are the *Politic Would-be's* of the clergy; not Bishops, but men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will do any thing in the world to compass it. And, though princes have always a particular mark upon these men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are men of a fiery nature, that must always be uppermost; and so they may increase their own splendor, care not though they set all on flame about them. You would think, the same day that they took up divinity, they divested themselves of humanity; and so they may procure and execute a law against the non-conformists, that they had forgotten the Gospel. They cannot endure that humility, that meekness, that strictness of manners and conversation, which is the true way of gaining reputation and authority to the clergy; much less can they content themselves with the ordi-

nary and comfortable provision, that is made for the ministry. But, having wholly calculated themselves for preferment and grandeur, know or practise no other means to make themselves venerable but by ceremony and severity. Whereas the highest advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condescension, and the greatest dignity in our church can but raise them to the title of 'Your Grace,' which is in the Latin *Vestra Clementia*. But, of all these, none are so eager and virulent as some, who having had relation to the late times, have got access to Ecclesiastical Fortune, and are resolved to make their best of her. For so, of all beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those, that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as, of all men, none are so inhuman as the cannibals. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice toward those, whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to, for the approving of their new loyalty, I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and only raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of men, this kind of clergy should always be and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary counsels. The former civil war cannot make them wise, nor his Majesty's happy return good-natured; but they are still for running things up into the same extremes. The softness of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity in which they have been nurtured, hath but exasperated their nature; and they seem to have contracted no idea of wisdom, but what they learned at school, the pedantry of whip-



ping. They take themselves qualified to preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of state; though the reach of their divinity is but to persecution, and an inquisition is the height of their policy.

‘ And you, Mr. Bayes, had you lived in the days of Augustus Cæsar (be not scandalised; for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your plays?) would not you have made, think you, an excellent Privy Councillor? His father, too, was murdered. Or (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late war, which you trumpet always in the ear of his Majesty) had you happened in the time of Henry IV. in France, should not you have done well in the cabinet? His predecessor, too, was assassinated. No, Mr. Bayes, you would not have been for their purpose: they took other measures of government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And his Majesty, whose genius hath much of both those princes, and who derives half of the blood in his veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice, as to follow their example. For these kings, Mr. Bayes, how negligent soever or ignorant you take them to be, have I doubt a shrewd understanding with them. It is a trade that, God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not so competent judges of their actions; I myself have oftentimes seen them, some of them, do strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion; and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. It is not with them, as with you. You have but one cure of souls, or perhaps two, as being a nobleman’s chaplain, to look

after: and if you make conscience of discharging them as you ought, you would find you had work sufficient, without writing your ‘Ecclesiastical Policies.’ But they are the incumbents of whole kingdoms, and the rectorship of the common people, the nobility, and even of the clergy (whom you are prone to ‘affirm, when possessed with principles that incline to rebellion and disloyal practices, to be of all rebels the most dangerous’) the care, I say, of all these rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for peace-sake, and the quiet of mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing impossible, unnecessary, or wanton of their people; but are fain to consider the very temper of the climate in which they live, the constitution and laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like children. They reflect upon the histories of former times, and the present transactions, to regulate themselves by in every circumstance. They have heard that one of your Roman Emperors, when his Captain of the Life-Guard came for the word, by giving it unhandsomely received a dagger. They observe, how the parliament of Poland will be their King’s tailor; and among other reasons, because he would not wear their mode, have suffered the Turk to enter, as coming nearer their fashion. Nay, that even Alexander the Great had almost lost all he had conquered, by forcing his subjects to conform to the Persian habit: that the King of Spain, when upon a progress he enters Biscay, is pleased to ride with one leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Bishop in his retinue. So their

people will pay their taxes in good gold or silver, they demand no subsidy of so many bushels of fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the tyrant, that 'the subject could not furnish that quantity, and besides they would be leaping out still before they could be measured, and should they fine the people for non-payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining.' They have been told that, a 'certain queen being desired to give a town-seal to one of her cities, lighting from her horse, sate down naked on the snow, and left them that impression;' and though it caused no disturbance, but all the town-leases are Letters Patents, kings do not approve the example: that 'the late Queen of Sweden did herself no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le bestie*, but afterward resigned:' that 'the occasion of the revolt of Switzerland from the Emperor, and it's turning Commonwealth, was only the imposing of a civil ceremony by a capricious governor, who set up a pole in the highway with a cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all passengers be uncovered and do obeisance.'—One sturdy Swiss, that would not conform, thereupon overturned the government, as it is at large in history: that 'the King of Spain lost Flanders, chiefly, upon introducing the Inquisition:' and you now, Mr. Bayes, will think these, and a hundred more that I could tell you, but idle stories; and yet Kings can tell how to make use of them! And hence it is that, instead of assuming your unhoopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of it's exercise by their discretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to use the less extravagancy.'

*The Coronet.*

' When for the thorns with which I long, too long,  
 With many a piercing wound  
 My Saviour's head have crown'd,  
 I seek with garlands to redress that wrong;  
 Through every garden, every mead,  
 I gather flowers (my fruits are only flowers)  
 Dismantling all the fragrant towers,  
 That once adorn'd my shepherdess' head.  
 And now, when I have summ'd up all my store,  
 Thinking (so I myself deceive)  
 So rich a chaplet thence to weave,  
 As never yet the King of Glory wore;  
 Alas! I find the Serpent old,  
 Twining in his speckled breast,  
 About the flowers disguised does fold  
 With wreaths of fame and interest.  
 Ah, foolish man, that would'st debase with them,  
 And mortal glory, Heaven's diadem!  
 But thou, who only could'st the Serpent tame,  
 Either his slippery knots at once untie,  
 And disentangle all his winding snare,  
 Or shatter too with him my curious frame;  
 And let these wither so that he may die,  
 Though set with skill, and chosen out with care:  
 That they, while thou on both their spoils dost tread,  
 May crown thy feet, that could not crown thy head.'

---

*On Milton's 'Paradise Lost.'*

' When I beheld the poet blind, yet bold,  
 In slender book his vast design unfold,  
 Messiah crown'd, God's reconciled decree,  
 Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,  
 Heaven, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument  
 Held me a while misdoubting his intent,  
 That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)  
 The sacred truths to fable and old song;

So Samson groped the temple's posts in spite,  
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his sight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,  
I liked his project, the success did fear;  
Through that wide field how he his way should find,  
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;  
Lest he'd perplex the things he would explain,  
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,  
Jealous I was, that some less skilful hand  
(Such as disquiet always what is well,  
And by ill imitating would excel)  
Might hence presume the whole creation's day  
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty poet, and despise  
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise:  
But I am now convinced, and none will dare  
Within thy labours to pretend a share.  
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,  
And all that was improper dost omit;  
So that no room is here for writers left,  
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That majesty, which through thy work doth reign,  
Draws the devout, deterring the profane;  
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state,  
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.  
At once delight and horror on us seize,  
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;  
And above human flight dost soar aloft  
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft:  
The bird, named from that Paradise you sing,  
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.  
Where could'st thou words of such a compass find?  
Whence furnish such a vast expanse of mind?  
Just heaven thee, like Tiresias, to requite,  
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.  
Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure  
With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure;  
While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,  
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:  
There fancies like our bushy points appear;  
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.

I too, transported by the mode, commend;  
 And while I meant to praise thee, must offend.  
 Thy verse created, like thy theme, sublime,  
 In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.\*

---

*Britannia and Raleigh.*

BRITANNIA.

' Ah! Raleigh, when thou did'st thy breath resign  
 To trembling James, would I had quitted mine.  
 " Cubs," didst thou call them? Had'st thou seen this brood  
 Of Earls and Dukes, and Princes of the Blood;  
 No more of Scottish race thou would'st complain,  
 Those would be blessings in this spurious reign.  
 Awake, arise, from thy long bless'd repose,  
 Once more with me partake of mortal woes.

RALEGH.

What mighty power has forced me from my rest?  
 Oh! mighty queen, why so untimely dress'd?

BRITANNIA.

Favour'd by night, conceal'd in this disguise,  
 Whilst the lewd court in drunken slumber lies,  
 I stole away, and never will return,  
 Till England knows who did her city burn;  
 Till Cavaliers shall favourites be deem'd,  
 And loyal sufferers by the court esteem'd;  
 Till Leigh and Galloway shall bribes reject;  
 Thus Osborne's\* golden cheat I shall detect:  
 Till atheist Lauderdale shall leave this land,  
 And Commons' votes shall cut-nose guards disband;  
 Till Kate a happy mother shall become;  
 Till Charles loves parliaments, and James hates Rome.

RALEGH.

What fatal crimes make you for ever fly  
 Your once loved court, and Martyr's progeny?

\* Leigh and Galloway were suspected to be bribed by the Earl of Danby, to vote with the court.

## BRITANNIA.

A colony of French possess'd the court ;  
 Pimps, priests, buffoons, in privy-chamber sport.  
 Such slimy monsters ne'er approach'd a throne  
 Since Pharaoh's days, nor so defiled a crown.  
 In sacred ear tyrannic arts they croak,  
 Pervert his mind, and good intentions choak ;  
 Tell him of golden India's fairy lands,  
 Leviathan, and absolute commands.  
 Thus, fairy-like, they steal the King away,  
 And in his room a changeling Louis lay.  
 How oft have I him to himself restored,  
 In's left the scale, in's right hand placed the sword !  
 Taught him their use, what dangers would ensue  
 To them who strive to separate these two ;  
 The bloody Scottish chronicle read o'er,  
 Show'd him how many Kings in purple gore  
 Were hurl'd to hell by cruel tyrant Lore ?

The other day famed Spenser I did bring,  
 In lofty notes Tudor's bless'd race to sing ;  
 How Spain's proud powers her virgin arms controll'd,  
 And golden days in peaceful order roll'd ;  
 How like ripe fruit she dropp'd from off her throne,  
 Full of grey hairs, good deeds, and great renown.  
 As the Jessean hero did appease  
 Saul's stormy rage, and stopp'd his black disease ;  
 So the learn'd bard, with artful song, suppress'd  
 The swelling passion of his canker'd breast,  
 And in his heart kind influences shed  
 Of country's love, by truth and justice bred.  
 Then to perform the care so well begun,  
 To him I show'd this glorious setting sun ;  
 How, by her people's looks pursued from far,  
 She mounted on a bright celestial car,  
 Outshining Virgo or the Julian star.  
 Whilst in truth's mirror this good scene he spied,  
 Enter'd a dame bedeck'd with spotted pride :  
 Fair flower-de-luce within an azure field  
 Her left hand bears, the ancient Gallic shield  
 By her usurp'd ; her right a bloody sword,  
 Inscribed ' Leviathan our Sovereign Lord ;

Her towery front a fiery meteor bears,  
 An exhalation bred of blood and tears.  
 Around her Jove's lewd ravenous curs complain,  
 Pale death, lust, tortures fill her pompous train;  
 She from the easy King truth's mirror took,  
 And on the ground in spiteful fall it broke;  
 Then frowning thus, with proud disdain she spoke:  
 "Are threadbare virtues ornaments for Kings?  
 Such poor pedantic toys teach underlings.  
 Do monarchs rise by virtue, or by sword?  
 Who e'er grew great by keeping of his word?  
 Virtue's a faint green-sickness to brave souls,  
 Dastards their hearts, their active heat controls.  
 The rival gods, monarchs of t'other world,  
 This mortal poison among princes hurl'd;  
 Fearing the mighty projects of the great  
 Should drive them from their proud celestial seat,  
 If not o'erawed by this new holy cheat.  
 Those pious frauds, too slight t'ensnare the brave,  
 Are proper arts the long-ear'd rout t'enslave.  
 Bribe hungry priests to deify your might,  
 To teach your will's your only rule to right,  
 And sound damnation to all dare deny't.  
 Thus Heaven's designs against Heaven you shall turn,  
 And make them feel those powers they once did scorn.  
 When all the gobbling interest of mankind,  
 By hirelings sold, to you shall be resign'd:  
 And by impostures God and man betray'd,  
 The Church and State you safely may invade;  
 So boundless Louis in full glory shines,  
 Whilst your starved power in legal fetters pines.  
 Shake off those baby-bands from your strong arms,  
 Henceforth be deaf to that old witch's charms.  
 Taste the delicious sweets of sovereign power,  
 'Tis royal game whole kingdoms to deflower.  
 Three spotless virgins to your bed I'll bring,  
 A sacrifice to you, their God, and King.  
 As these grow stale, we'll harass human kind,  
 Rack nature, till new pleasures you shall find,  
 Strong as your reign, and beauteous as your mind."

When she had spoke, a confused murmur rose,  
 Of French, Scotch, Irish, all my mortal foes;



Some English too, O shame! disguised I spied,  
 Led all by the wise son-in-law of Hyde.  
 With fury drunk, like bacchanals they roar,  
 "Down with that common Magna Charta whore!"  
 With joint consent on helpless me they flew,  
 And from my Charles to a base goal me drew;  
 My reverend age, exposed to scorn and shame,  
 To prigs, bawds, whores was made the public game.  
 Frequent addresses to my Charles I send,  
 And my sad state did to his care commend;  
 But his fair soul, transform'd by that French dame,  
 Had lost all sense of honour, justice, fame.  
 He in's seraglio like a spinster sits,  
 Besieged by w——s, buffoons, and bastard chits;  
 Lull'd in security, rolling in lust,  
 Resigns his crown to angel Carwell's trust;  
 Her creature, Osborne, the revenue steals;  
 False French knave Anglesey misguides the Seals,  
 Mac-James the Irish bigots do adore,  
 His French and Teague command on sea and shore.  
 The Scotch-scalado of our court two isles,  
 False Lauderdale, with ordure all defiles.  
 Thus the state's night-mared by this hellish rout,  
 And no one left these furies to cast out.  
 Ah! Vindex, come, and purge the poison'd state;  
 Descend, descend, e'er the cure's desperate.

RALEGH.

Once more, great Queen, thy darling strive to save,  
 Snatch him again from scandal and the grave;  
 Present to's thoughts his long-scorn'd parliament,  
 The basis of his throne and government.  
 In his deaf ears sound his dead father's name;  
 Perhaps that spell may's erring soul reclaim:  
 Who knows what good effects from thence may spring?  
 'Tis godlike good to save a falling King.

BRITANNIA.

Raleigh, no more, for long in vain I've tried  
 The Stuart from the tyrant to divide;

As easily learned virtuosos may  
 With the dog's blood his gentle kind convey  
 Into the wolf, and make him guardian turn  
 To th' bleating flock, by him so lately torn.  
 If this imperial juice once taint his blood,  
 'Tis by no potent antidote withstood.  
 Tyrants, like leprous Kings, for publick weal  
 Should be immured, lest the contagion steal  
 Over the whole. Th' elect of th' Jessan line  
 To this firm law their sceptre did resign :  
 And shall this base tyrannic brood invade  
 Eternal laws, by God for mankind made ?  
 To the serene Venetian state I'll go,  
 From her sage mouth famed principles to know,  
 With her the prudence of the ancients read,  
 To teach my people in their steps to tread ;  
 By their great pattern such a state I'll frame,  
 Shall eternise a glorious lasting name.

Till then, my Raleigh, teach our noble youth  
 To love sobriety, and holy truth.  
 Watch and preside over their tender age,  
 Lest court-corruption should their souls engage.  
 Teach them how arts, and arms, in thy young days  
 Employ'd our youth ; not taverns, stews, and plays.  
 Tell them the generous scorn their rise does owe  
 To flattery, pimping, and a gaudy show.  
 Teach them to scorn the Carwells, Portsmouths, Nells,  
 The Clevelands, Osbornes, Berties, Lauderdale's :  
 Poppæa, Tegoline, and Arteria's name,  
 All yield to these in lewdness, lust, and fame.  
 Make them admire the Talbots, Sidneys, Veres,  
 Drake, Cav'ndish, Blake, men void of slavish fears ;  
 True sons of glory, pillars of the state,  
 On whose famed deeds all tongues and writers wait.  
 When with fierce ardor their bright souls do burn,  
 Back to my dearest country I'll return.  
 Tarquin's just judge, and Cæsar's equal peers,  
 With them I'll bring to dry my people's tears :  
 Publicola with healing hands shall pour  
 Balm in their wounds, and shall their life restore ;  
 Greek arts and Roman arms, in her conjoin'd,  
 Shall England raise, relieve oppress'd mankind.

As Jove's great son th' infested globe did free  
 From noxious monsters' hell-born tyranny,  
 So shall my England, in a holy war,  
 In triumph lead chain'd tyrants from 'afar;  
 Her true Crusado shall at last pull down  
 The Turkish crescent, and the Persian sun.  
 Freed by thy labours, fortunate, bless'd Isle,  
 The earth shall rest, the heaven shall on thee smile;  
 And this kind secret for reward shall give,  
 NO POISON'D TYRANTS ON THY EARTH SHALL LIVE.'

Cuidam qui, legendo Scripturam, descripsit formam, sapientiam,  
 sortemque Auctoris.

Illustrissimo Viro,  
 Domino Lanceloto Josephe de Maniban, Grammato-manti.

*Quis posthàc chartæ committat sensa loquaci,  
 Si sua crediderit fata subesse stylo;  
 Conscia si prodat scribentis litera sortem,  
 Quicquid et in vitâ plus latuisse velit?  
 Flexibus in calami tamen omnia sponte leguntur:  
 Quod non significant verba, figura notat.  
 Bellerophontearum signat sibi quisque tabellas;  
 Ignaramque manum spiritus intus agit.  
 Nil præter solitum sapiebat epistola nostra,  
 Exemplumque meæ simplicitatis erat:  
 Fabula jucundos qualis delectat amicos;  
 Urbe, lepore, novis, carmine tota scatens.  
 Hic tamen interpres, quo non securior alter  
 (Non res, non voces, non ego notus ei)  
 Rimatur fibras notularum cautus aruspex,  
 Scripturæque inhians consulit exta meæ.  
 Inde statim vitæ casus, animique recessus,  
 Explicat (haud Genio plura liquere putem);  
 Distribuit totum nostris eventibus orbem,  
 Et quo me rapiat cardine Sphæra docet.  
 Quæ Sol oppositus, quæ Mars adversa minetur,  
 Jupiter aut ubi me, Luna, Venusve juvet: &c.*

## SAMUEL BUTLER.\*

[1612—1680.]

**SAMUEL BUTLER**, the son of a substantial farmer,† was born at Strensham in Worcestershire, and baptized February 14, 1612. His grammar-education he received at the free school of Worcester; and his father being informed by Mr. Henry Bright the master, that he possessed an acute genius and a ready disposition for learning, resolved to encourage it, and to bring him up to the profession of the law. With this view, he sent him (as it is most probably conjectured) to Cambridge, to pursue his studies: but though he resided six or seven years in that University, he was never matriculated; in consequence, it is said, of his narrow circumstances, which would not permit him to go through the regular gradations of degrees, and to support the other incidental expenses of the place. We are therefore

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *General Biographical Dictionary*; *Grey's Memoirs of Butler*; *Cibber's Lives of the Poets*; and *British Biography*.

† His father's property was a house and a little land (as Dr. Nash has discovered) worth about eight pounds a year, still called 'Butler's Tenement.'

to suppose, that he only attended the public lectures, which at that time (as at present) were numerous and respectable. The accounts of his youth, however, are extremely defective; and we are only told, that when he quitted Cambridge, he became clerk to Mr. Jefferys of Earl's Croom, an eminent Magistrate for the County of Worcester. With this gentleman he lived some years in great comfort, having leisure to apply himself to his favourite studies and amusements; history, poetry, music, and painting.\* He afterward obtained the patronage of Elizabeth Countess of Kent, a lady of considerable learning, and the protectress of men of letters. In her house he not only found an excellent library, but likewise formed an acquaintance with many of her enlightened visitors. Among others he became intimate with Selden, who often employed him in business connected with literature. But in what character, or for how long a period, he served that lady, and why he left her service is, like most of the other incidents of his life, unknown.

His next residence was with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an ancient family in Bedfordshire, and one of the Generals of Oliver Cromwell. Here he very probably planned, if he did not also write, the celebrated poem of HUDIBRAS, under which character it is supposed he intended to ridicule his employer. He had indeed, at this time, an opportunity

\* Several pictures, traditionally assigned to his pencil, long remained in his first master's family, proving his early inclination to that noble art, for which also he was at a later period highly regarded by the distinguished artist, Mr. Samuel Cooper. Not long afterward, Dr. Nash found they had been employed to stop windows; and adds, that 'they hardly deserved a better fate!'

of conversing with those living characters of nonsense and hypocrisy, which he so vividly portrays and exposes throughout his whole work.

Some years after the Restoration, he was made Secretary to Richard Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales, and appointed Steward of Ludlow Castle; when the Lord President's Court was revived at that place. About the same time, likewise, he married Mrs. Hubert, a widow lady of good family and competent fortune, of which however the greater part, being placed on bad securities, was unfortunately lost: but we have no dates to the few recorded events of his existence, and must therefore be guided in those respects by collateral circumstances. His 'Hudibras,' of which the First Part was published in 1663, introduced him, probably, to the notice of the courtiers, and particularly to that poet and patron of learning, the Earl of Dorset. By him it was made known to the King, who often pleasantly quoted it in conversation.

Every eye, says Dr. Johnson, now watched the golden shower which was to fall upon the author, who certainly was not without his share in the general expectation. In 1664, the Second Part appeared; the curiosity of the nation was rekindled, and the writer was again praised and elated. Rochester himself declared:

‘ I loath the rabble ; ’tis enough for me  
If Sedley, Shadwell, Sheppard, Wycherly,  
Godolphin, BUTLER, Buckhurst, Buckingham,  
And some few more whom I omit to name,  
Approve my sense : I count their censure fame.’ }

Alas ! praise was his sole reward. Clarendon, says

Wood, gave him reason to hope for "places and employments of value and credit;" but no such advantage did he ever obtain. Baffled in his views, the man whose wit had delighted and whose satire had tended to reform a nation, was suffered in his old age to struggle with all the calamities of indigence.

Something strikingly similar in the fates of Butler and Cervantes has been pointed out. Both, by the united force of wit and satire, emancipated their respective countries from fanaticism of different kinds: and both, while their works were universally applauded, were suffered, the Spaniard to perish with infirmity and in a prison, and the Englishman (by a destiny to a generous mind as severe) to linger out a long life in precarious dependence. So just is the observation of Juvenal:

*Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res angusta domi—*

"Slow rises worth, by poverty deprest."

{JOHNSON.}

In his 'Court Burlesqued' (said to have been written in 1678) which appeared with his 'Posthumous Works,' in the characters of Clarendon, Buckingham, Shaftesbury, &c. he had his abundant revenge.

With his slender though honourable appointment under the Lord President of Wales, and his wife's jointure, he appears to have supported himself, while he danced attendance in hopes of preferment or some suitable reward for his poetical services.

Wycherly (a brother poet, then in high favour) seized every opportunity, we are told, of recom-

mending Butler to the Duke of Buckingham;\* and even went so far as to pronounce it 'a reproach to the court, that a person of his wit and loyalty should suffer in obscurity:' upon which, Buckingham undertook to name him to his Majesty; and Wycherly, to forward the business, requested the Duke to fix a time and place when he might introduce the modest and unfortunate poet to his new patron. In conformity to his orders, the two poets attended his Grace at the Roebuck, a noted tavern: but unfortunately, soon after they met, a knight of Buckingham's acquaintance passed by with two abandoned women, whom he instantly pursued; nor from that hour did he recollect his promises in favour of the author of *Hudibras*.

Granger, says Dr. Johnson, was informed by Dr. Pearce, who named for his authority Mr. Lowndes of the Treasury, that Butler had a yearly pension of a hundred pounds. This is contradicted by all tradition, by the complaints of Oldham,† and by the

\* Aubrey, or Wood, incorrectly records, that he was 'Secretary to his Grace, when he was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.'

† This writer, in his 'Satire against Poetry,' introduces the ghost of Spenser dissuading him from it, upon experience and example that poverty and contempt were its inseparable attendants. After having adduced his own case, and those of Homer and Cowley, he adds:

' On Butler who can think without just rage,  
The glory and the scandal of the age?  
Fair stood his hopes, when first he came to town;  
Met every where with welcomes of renown,  
Courtied and loved by all, with wonder read,  
And promises of princely favour fed!



reproaches of Dryden;\* and, I am afraid, will never be confirmed.

But what reward for all had he at last?—  
 After a life in dull expectance past,  
 The wretch, at summing up his mis-spent days,  
 Found nothing left but poverty and praise:  
 Of all his gains by verse, he could not save  
 Enough to purchase flannel and a grave.  
 Reduced to want, he in due time fell sick,  
 Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;  
 And well might bless the fever, that was sent  
 To rid him hence, and his worse fate prevent.'

Otway also, in his 'Prologue to Constantine the Great,' with a feeling almost prophetic of his own destiny, exclaims:

—'All ye who have male issue born  
 Under the starry sign of Capricorn,  
 Prevent the malice of their stars in time,  
 And warn them early from the sin of rhyme:  
 Tell them how Spenser starved, how Cowley mourn'd,  
 How Butler's faith and service were return'd.' &c.

\* In his 'Dedication of his Juvenal,' where also he observes:  
 "The worth of his poem is too well known to need any commendation, and he is above my censure. The choice of his numbers is suitable enough to his design, as he has managed it; but in any other hand the shortness of his verse, and the quick returns of rhyme, had debased the dignity of stile. His good sense is perpetually shining through all he writes: it affords us not the time of finding faults; we pass through the levity of his rhyme, and one is immediately carried into some admirable useful thought. After all, he has chosen this kind of verse, and has written the best in it." Both Dryden and Addison however, in reference to Butler's genius, have expressed their regret that 'instead of embalming his wit in heroic verse, he condescended to burlesque and doggrel.' But Addison has not been consistent in his judgement; and the opinions of Dryden were frequently immature. One remark may, at least, be made in its favour, that the versification has perhaps been a principal

It is certain, that he reaped no other benefit from his poem than an order upon the Treasury for three hundred pounds ;\* which, as he owed more than the

cause of it's fame ; as the turns of humour and satire, being short and pithy, are therefore more tenable in the memory, whence Hudibras is more frequently quoted in conversation than the finest pieces of serious poetry.

As a masterly piece of criticism, Dr. Johnson's Dissertation upon Hudibras, appended to his Life of Butler, will be read with great pleasure. The work (it may be briefly remarked) considered as a whole, is certainly deficient in incident and interest : for though it contains more wit and learning than perhaps any other that ever was written, and though there is hardly a subject for which an appropriate motto might not be found in it's pages, it cannot often be perused except as a task. The characters, indeed, are now obsolete ; for the manners, that gave them birth, no longer exist : yet will this work remain an unrivalled monument of genius and erudition, as long as the English language endures.

\* Some assert, ' that the King drew the order for three thousand pounds ; and that a cypher was cut off in some of the offices, through which it passed.' But this does not seem probable : for Butler, in that case, would hardly have been so personally severe upon his Majesty's neglect of him, as we find him in his ' HUDIBRAS at Court.'

‘ Now you must know Sir HUDIBRAS  
With such perfections gifted was,  
And so peculiar in his manner,  
That all that saw him did him honour.  
Among the rest, this prince was one,  
Admired his conversation :  
This prince, whose ready wit and parts  
Conquer'd both men's and women's hearts,  
Was so o'ercome by knight and Ralph,  
That he could never claw it off.  
He never ate, nor drank, nor slept,  
But Hudibras still near him kept ;  
Never would go to church, or so,  
But Hudibras must with him go :

entire sum, he requested his friend Longueville to appropriate to the discharge of his debts.

Few more particulars of his life are to be found; for from his extreme modesty, and his dislike of what Cowley so well denominates "the great vulgar and the small," he studiously avoided a multiplicity of acquaintance. Even the Earl of Dorset, one of his best friends, was obliged to resort to a stratagem in order to get introduced to him. He prevailed on Mr. Fleetwood Shephard to introduce him into his company at a tavern, in the character of a common friend. At this interview Butler, who never shone in conversation till he had drank pretty freely, appeared flat and heavy while the first bottle went round: in the course of drinking the second, however, he became brisk and sprightly, displayed to it's best advantage his wit and learning, and proved a most agreeable companion; but, before the third was finished, he relapsed into his original stupidity. Next morning, his Lordship pronounced him "Like a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle."

During the latter part of his life he resided in

Nor yet to visit concubine,  
Or at a city-feast to dine,  
But Hudibras must still be there,  
Or all the fat was in the fire.  
Now, after all, was it not hard  
That he should meet with no reward,  
That fitted out this knight and 'squire  
This monarch did so much admire?  
That he should never reimburse  
The man for th' equipage, or horse,  
Is sure a strange ungrateful thing  
In any body—but a king.'

Rose Street, Covent Garden ; and there, it is supposed, he ended his days. Upon his death in 1680, Mr. Longueville applied to many of his great and wealthy admirers, to contribute to the expense of burying him in Westminster Abbey : but they, who had courted his company without promoting his interest in life, were not very likely to exert themselves in paying honour to his remains. He was, therefore, privately interred in the church-yard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, at the sole charge of his friend, the burial-service being read by Dr. Patrick (subsequently Bishop of Ely) the minister of the parish. From this and other circumstances it was reported, that ' he died deeply in debt.' \* But Mr. Charles Longueville,

\* A monument, however, was in 1721 erected to his memory by Mr. John Barber, citizen of London, which gave occasion to the following lines by Mr. S. Wesley :

' Whilst Butler, needy wretch ! was yet alive,  
No generous patron would a dinner give.  
See him, when starved to death and turn'd to dust,  
Presented with a monumental bust !  
The poet's fate is here in emblem shown :  
He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone.'

The inscription upon it is as follows :

M. S.  
SAMUELIS BUTLERI,  
*Qui Strenshamiae in agro Vigorn. nat. 1612,  
obiit Lond. 1680.*  
*Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer ;  
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis, felix :  
Satirici apud nos carminis artifex egregius ;  
Quo simulatae religionis larvam detraxit,  
Et perduellium scelera liberrimè exagitavit :  
Scriptorum in suo genere, primus et postremus.*  
*Ne, cui viro deerant ferè omnia,  
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus,  
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit  
Johannes Barber, civis Londinensis, 1721.*

the son of the above-mentioned gentleman, publicly contradicted the assertion. In this mist of obscurity passed the life of Butler, a man whose name can only perish with his language. The mode and place of his education are unknown; the events of his life are variously related; and all that can be told with certainty is, that he was poor.

The Third and Last Part of Hudibras was published some time after the First and Second; and a complete edition of the whole was printed under the author's inspection in 1678. It has since received the highest commendations from foreigners, as well as from his own countrymen. Among the first, Voltaire has done it the highest honour. This great genius thus expresses himself upon the subject: "There is an English poem, the title of which is 'HUDIBRAS;' it is 'Don Quixote,' and our '*Satire Menippée*,' blended together. I never met with so much wit in one single book as in this; and, at the same time, it is the most difficult to translate. Who would believe, that a work which paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more sentiments than words, should baffle the endeavours of the ablest translators? But the reason of it is this; almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents." Hudibras has gone through many editions: that published by Zachary Grey, LL. D. with large annotations, and a preface containing some memoirs of the author in 1744, in two volumes octavo,\* and subsequently reprinted, was

\* The few royal paper copies (six only, according to Mr. Dibdin) sell at an enormous price—even nine guineas, and in some catalogues they are valued at a still higher sum!

It has provoked, as is usually the case with powerful and

long regarded as the standard one; until Dr. Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, in 1794 published a new edition in two volumes quarto, with an Inquiry into the Life of Butler; containing, however, few particulars not previously known. In 1759 were published, 'The Genuine Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Mr. Samuel Butler, printed from original Manuscripts, formerly in the possession of William Longueville, Esq.; with Notes by Mr. R. Thyer, Keeper of the Public Library at Manchester,' in two volumes octavo. Of these volumes, the first consists chiefly of poetical pieces; the second, of characters drawn with great strength, to which are annexed ingenious thoughts on a variety of subjects.\* Some of the

popular compositions, many inferior imitators; a 'Second Part,' prior to his own, a 'Dutch,' and a 'Scotch Hudibras,' 'Butler's Ghost,' 'The Occasional Hypocrite,' &c. Some vain attempts have, likewise, been made to translate parts of it into Latin. Of these, one or two (ascribed to the learned Harmar, once Greek Professor at Oxford) are subjoined for the amusement of the reader:

'So learned Taliacotius from, &c.'

*Sic adscititios nasos de chune torosi  
Vectoris doctâ secuit Taliacotius arte,  
Qui potuère parem durando æquare parentem:  
At postquam fato clunis computruit, ipsum  
Undè sympathiolum coëpit tabescere rostrum.*

'So wind i' th' hypochondres pent, &c.'

*Sic hypochondriacis inclusa meatibus aura  
Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per album:  
Sed si summa petat, montisq; invaserit arcem,  
Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.*

\* In justice to Butler, we must not omit to mention an old edition of his Posthumous Works, first printed in three and afterward in one volume duodecimo, containing many indecent and immoral pieces, of which Mr. Charles Longueville declared many to be spurious.

verses printed upon this occasion, as Mr. Chalmers observes, show him to have been among those who ridiculed the institution of the Royal Society, of which the enemies were for some time very numerous and very acrimonious—for what reason, it is hard to conceive; since the philosophers professed not to advance doctrines, but to produce facts, and the most zealous enemy of innovation must admit the gradual progress of experience, however he may oppose hypothetical temerity.

Of Mr. William Longueville it is recorded, on competent authority, that he was a conveyancing lawyer and a Bencher of the Inner Temple, and had raised himself from a low beginning to very great eminence in that profession; that he was eloquent and learned, and of spotless integrity; that he maintained an aged father, who had wasted his fortune by extravagance, and by his industry and application re-edified a ruined family; and that having supported Butler (who, but for him, must literally have starved) he received from him, as a recompence, the papers called ‘his Remains.’ Of these the original copy was, at one time, in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Richard Farmer.

# ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER,

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.\*

[1621—1683.]

**ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER** was the only son of Sir John Cooper, Bart. of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, by Anne daughter and sole heiress of Sir Antony Ashley, Bart. of Winborne St. Giles in the county of Dorset, where he was born in the year 1621.

By the death of his father he succeeded, before he was ten years of age, to an estate of 8000*l. per ann.* Being a boy of uncommon parts, he was sent at fifteen to Oxford, where he became a Fellow Commoner of Exeter College under the tuition of Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of that society. Here he is said to have remained about two years, and fully supported his character of an extraordinary genius. He subsequently removed to Lincoln's Inn, and applied himself with great vigour to the study of the law, especially to that part of it, which

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*, Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and Hume's *History of England*.



gave him an insight into the constitution of his native country.

At nineteen, he was elected representative for Tewksbury, in the parliament which met at Westminster in April, 1640.

The outlines of an able politician were discovered very early in his Lordship's character, by an amiable instance of loyalty to his King and of regard for the public tranquillity: for, at the beginning of the civil war, he repaired to Charles I. at Oxford with a project, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such as had either deserted or mistaken their duty to their allegiance. Being introduced by his friend Lord Falkland, then Secretary of State, as 'having something to propose worthy of consideration,' he told the King, that 'he could immediately put an end to the war, if his Majesty would graciously please to assist him in it.' Charles answering, 'That he was a very young man for so great an undertaking;' "Sire," replied he, "that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business." Upon which, the King showing a willingness to hear him, he proceeded as follows:

"The gentlemen and men of estates who first engaged in this war, seeing now after a year or two that it seems to be no nearer an end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This, I am satisfied, is the present temper generally throughout England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie. If therefore your Majesty will empower

me to treat with the parliament-garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that 'a general amnesty (arms being laid down on both sides) shall reinstate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and that then a free parliament shall do what more remains to be done for the settlement of the nation;' in that case, I will begin and try the experiment in my own country: and I doubt not but the good success, I shall have there, will open the gates of other adjoining garrisons, by bringing them the news of peace and security on laying down their arms." The Monarch appearing to accede to these propositions, and Sir Antony according to his desire being furnished with full powers, he repaired to Dorsetshire, and there negotiated with the garrisons of Poole, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others so successfully, that one of them was actually put into his hands; when Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the royal forces in those parts, took immediate possession of the place, and gave the pillage of it to his soldiers.

Upon this, hot words passed between Sir Antony and the offending General: but the violence was committed, and the design in consequence rendered abortive. All that he could now do was, to warn the other garrisons with whom he had been in treaty, to 'stand upon their guard, as he could not insure the performance of the articles stipulated.'

He soon afterward, it is said, in conjunction with Serjeant Fountain projected another scheme to terminate the war; which was, that the country-gentlemen throughout England should arm the peasantry with a view to suppress both parties. This plan,

being imperfectly carried into execution, gave rise to a third army called 'the Club-men,' who struck so much terror into the followers both of the King and of the parliament, that the former never forgave him. If all the leaders had been true to their engagements, and had risen at the appointed time, it is supposed they would have accomplished their object; but some of them failing, it miscarried.

Sir Antony was subsequently invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majesty; but perceiving that he had lost the royal confidence, and that his person was in danger, he retired to the parliament-quarters; and soon afterward accepting a commission from that party,\* and raising forces in Dorsetshire, took Wareham by storm in 1644, which was speedily followed by the reduction of all the adjacent districts.

In 1646, he was appointed Sheriff of Wiltshire; and in 1651, one of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was, also, one of the members of the Convention, which met after Cromwell had expelled the Long Parliament in 1653. He was again returned to parliament in 1654, and was one of the principal persons who signed the celebrated Protestation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government.

When Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, Sir Antony was nominated one of their Council of State, and a Commissioner for managing the army. But at that very time he had engaged in a secret correspondence with the friends of

\* He "gave himself up" to them, indeed, says the royalist historian of the rebellion, "body and soul;" and "became an implacable enemy to the royal family."

Charles II., and was eminently instrumental in promoting his return.

From this may be inferred the opinion, which he entertained of the illegal proceedings of Cromwell, and how much of the sufferings of the royalists would have been prevented, had the point of a free parliament, for which he always contended, been fortunately conceded. His Majesty's restoration must have been its immediate consequence. The constant correspondence which he kept up with the royal party, to the hazard of his life and fortune, is a sufficient proof that he maintained his loyalty, as far as it was at all consistent with the rights and interests of the people.

From his vigorous hostility indeed to the two successive Protectors, we find him accused together with Whitlocke before the parliament, in 1659, of having provided forces in Dorsetshire, to join with Sir George Booth in attempting to bring back the Stuarts. This charge however, through his great influence, and by strenuous asseverations of his innocence, he successfully repelled. After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, he was one of the nine of the Old Council of State, who encouraged General Monk by letter to persevere in his design of accomplishing the Restoration.

He was likewise in the list of the Council of Thirty Nine, for whom an oath was prepared, pledging them to the abjuration of the royal line; but by the interposition chiefly of himself and of General Monk, it was successfully opposed, as a snare upon their consciences.

He was elected representative for Dorsetshire in the Healing Parliament, which met upon the twenty

fifth of April, 1660: and a resolution being taken to restore the constitution, he was appointed one of the twelve members delegated by the Lower House to carry their invitation to the King. In performing this service, he was overturned in his carriage upon a Dutch road, and received a dangerous wound between the ribs.

But though Sir Antony was thus instrumental in forwarding the Restoration, it ought to be remembered to his honour, that he wished to prescribe conditions to the returning Monarch, and even proposed that he should be obliged to sign the treaty offered to his father in the Isle of Wight. In this, however, he was over-ruled by Monk.

Upon the arrival of his Majesty, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of the regicides: \* in 1661 created Baron Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles; in rapid succession made Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, one of the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of High Treasurer, † and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Dorset; and,

\* For his acceptance of this office, he has been heavily censured.

† His conduct as a minister at this time has been a subject of considerable animadversion, because he was one of the junto known by the name of 'the Cabal' (so stiled from the initial letters of their titles; C,ifford, A,shley, B,uckingham, A,rlington, and L,auderdale) "characters so unprincipled," says one of the greatest authorities, Mr. Fox, "as justly to deserve the severity, with which they have been treated by all writers who have mentioned them." He admits, however, that the King "kept from them the real state of his connexion with France, and from some of them at least the secret of what he was pleased to call his religion." But Ashley had no concern, it is generally believed, in some of their most iniquitous measures. More par-

in 1672,\* Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Shaftesbury.

In the month of November, the same year, he was raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor. For this office he was eminently qualified, as well by his knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, as by his natural powers, which enabled him to make a distinguished figure in its discharge. His more particular brilliance arose from his speeches in parliament; and if we judge only from those which he delivered upon swearing in the Treasurer Clifford, his successor Sir Thomas Osborne, and Baron Thurland, we must conclude him to have been an accomplished orator. The short time, during which he sat at the helm, was a time of tempest; but it did not either dismay, or distract him. At

ticularly, with respect to Charles' disgraceful treaty in 1670 with Louis XIV. (the object of which was, to render the English Sovereign a paltry pensioner of France, on the condition of his endeavouring to subject his own subjects to the Pope and the rest of Europe to the House of Bourbon) it seems to be allowed, that his Lordship was never consulted upon the subject: and it is equally admitted, that he neither then nor afterward received bribes from France, as so many of both parties in that humiliating reign are known to have done. Yet he undoubtedly supported the measure of a Dutch war, and made his celebrated speech, applying to Holland the *Delenda est Carthago* of Cato, on that memorable occasion. He was, also, guilty of the illegal measure of issuing writs for the election of members of parliament during a recess, and abusing the influence of the crown to procure returns in favour of the court.

\* In 1670, he interceded with Dr. Fell (by a letter, which is still extant) that 'his friend Mr. Locke might receive from Oxford the degree of M.D.,' on the Prince of Orange's visit to that University; but in vain. A similar favour had been fruitlessly requested in 1666, for the same illustrious individual, even by their Chancellor the Earl of Clarendon.

the end of a twelvemonth, he gave up the Seals. Of the manner of his resignation the following account is given by Echard, in his History of England: "Soon after the breaking-up of the parliament, the Earl was sent for on Sunday morning to court; as was also Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney General, to whom the Seals were promised. As soon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph, to see him return without the purse. His Lordship being alone with the King, said, "Sire, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney General, but I am sure your Majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt." The King, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront." "Then, Sire," said the Earl, "I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to chapel, and send for them afterward from my house." To this his Majesty readily consented; and the Earl amused the King with news and entertaining stories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to deceive the courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. The King and the Earl came out of the closet, talking together and smiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly surprised them all; and some ran immediately to tell the Duke of York, that 'all their measures were broken.' After sermon, the Earl went home with the Seals; and, that evening, the King gave them to the Attorney General."

After he had quitted the court, however, he continued to make a considerable figure in parliament; and, in 1675, zealously opposed the Test-Bill intro-

duced by the Lord Treasurer Danby into the House of Lords. This dispute occasioned a prorogation, followed by a recess of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again in February, 1677, the Duke of Buckingham argued that, 'from the length of the preceding prorogation it ought to be considered as dissolved.' The Earl of Shaftesbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that himself, the Duke, the Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Wharton were sent to the Tower. As he long refused to make any apology, he continued in confinement for thirteen months; though his fellow-prisoners, upon their submission, were immediately discharged.

On regaining his liberty, he managed the opposition to Danby's administration with such talent and dexterity, that it was found impossible to effect any thing in parliament without an entire change of system. Accordingly in 1679 the King, who desired nothing so much as tranquillity, dismissed the whole Privy Council at once, and formed a new one; in which the Earl of Essex as Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State, and Viscount Halifax were members, and the Earl of Shaftesbury (contrary to the advice of Sir William Temple) President. Amidst many violent and unjust party-proceedings at this time, Shaftesbury was the author of one signal national benefit, the passing of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill;\* pronounced by Mr.

\* And yet this great Instrument of English liberty, if we may trust Burnet, was carried in the House of Lords by a trick. "Lord Grey and Lord Norris were named to be the tellers. Lord Norris, being a man subject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing: so, a very fat Lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him for ten, as a jest at first; but seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with this mis-



Fox “the most important barrier against tyranny, and best-framed protection for the liberty of individuals, that has ever existed in any ancient or modern Commonwealth.” This new post, however, he did not hold longer than six months. He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally suggesting, the project of an Exclusion-Bill, which was carried in the Lower House by a majority of seventy nine;\* and, therefore, we cannot be surprised that a party was constantly at work against him.

reckoning of ten. So it was reported to the House, and declared that ‘they who were for the bill were the majority,’ though it indeed went on the other side; and, by this means, the bill past.” It was speedily made use of, it appears. “There was a bold forward man (the historian adds) Sheridan, a native of Ireland, whom the Commons committed; and he moved for his *Habeas Corpus*. Some of the Judges were afraid of the House, and kept out of the way: but Baron Weston had the courage to grant it.”

\* From the vigorous resistance of the Court, the Church, and the Tories (aided by the restrictions, which the King offered to put upon a Popish successor) it was lost in the House of Lords.

The account of Hume (who, however, is not to be trusted in what relates to his favourite Stuarts) is somewhat different: “Shaftesbury,” he informs us, “finding that he possessed no more than the appearance of court-favour, was resolved still to adhere to the popular party, by whose attachment he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the Lower House, and possessed great influence in the other. The very appearance of court-favour, empty as it was, tended to render him more dangerous. His partisans, observing the progress which he had already made, hoped that he would soon acquire the entire ascendant; and he constantly flattered them, that ‘if they persisted in their purpose, the King from indolence and necessity and fondness for Monmouth would at last be induced, even at the expense of his brother’s right, to make them every concession.’” (Chap. LXVII.) In the next chapter, after panegyrising the mildness and integrity of Lord Russell, his exemption from ambition, and his

Upon the King's summoning a parliament at Oxford in March 1681, Shaftesbury joined with several Lords in a petition to prevent it's meeting at that place, but without success. In that parliament, he strenuously supported the Exclusion-Bill: but the Duke of York, through his friends, quickly contrived to make him feel the weight of his resentment. For the zealots in his interest, apprehending that as long as Shaftesbury lived, their scheme of introducing Popery and arbitrary power into the English government must be defeated, and having failed in various attempts to take him off privately, presented a bill of indictment against him at the Old Bailey. It was thrown out, however, by the grand jury, after examining the witnesses in open court. He was, consequently, discharged from the Tower, where he had been confined (on the evidence of an informer, who charged him with an attempt at subornation) from July till November, 1682, to the great joy of his country; and a medal \* was struck upon the occasion.

In the 'True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy,' zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country, he represents Shaftesbury as "in most particulars of an opposite character." He had indeed previously admitted, that had he (as some did not scruple to allege) for the sake of throwing an increased odium upon the Papists laid the plan of Titus Oates' plot, he would probably, by rendering it moderate, consistent, and credible, have defeated it's power of producing such prodigious effects upon the popular mind. It would indeed be "an absurdity," as Mr. Fox observes, "equal almost in degree to the belief of the plot itself, to suppose it a story fabricated by that nobleman and the other leaders of the Whig party!"

\* This gave birth to an extremely bitter poem under that title from the pen of Dryden, who had previously personified Shaftesbury as the great counsellor of rebellion in his 'Absalom and Achitophel.'

published in 1685, Shaftesbury is placed foremost among the disaffected. Conscious to himself, the compiler says, of the blackness of his crimes and of the iniquity of the verdict by which he had for the time escaped, and finding he was now within the compass of the justice he had so lately frustrated and contemned, he thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plausible arts of sedition, whereby he proudly bragged he should in time (as his expression was) ‘leisurely walk his Majesty out of his dominions,’ and on a sudden betook himself to more precipitate enterprises. He is elsewhere called ‘the prime engineer, during his time, in contriving and directing all the several motions and parts of the whole conspiracy.’ At the head of his English accomplices are enumerated, the Duke of Monmouth; Lord Gray of Wark, characterised by “the wickedness of his private life;” the Earl of Essex, guilty of many “ill practices, unworthy the son of such a father;” Lord Howard of Escrick, subsequently the base agent in the legal murder of his two next-named confederates;” Lord Russell, “carried away by a vain air of popularity, and a wild suspicion of losing a great estate by an imaginary return of Popery;” Colonel Algernon Sidney, “who from his youth had professed himself an enemy to the government of his country, and acted accordingly;” William Hampden the younger, who “renewed and continued the hereditary malignity of his house against the Royal Family;” Sir Thomas Armstrong, “a debauched atheistical bravo;” Lieutenant Colonel Walcot, “introduced by the Lord Howard (under the character of a stout and able officer) into a strict familiarity with the Earl of

Shaftesbury, from whom he never after parted till his death; accompanying him in his flight into Holland, and returning thence with his corpse, &c. But of all the conspirators (he adds) whether English or Scotch, the man to whom, next the late Earls of Shaftesbury and Argyle, belonged the chief place and precedence in the whole diabolical design, was Robert Ferguson a Scotchman, who with Walcot was named a legatee in Shaftesbury's last will as his special friend.

He is subsequently stated, in this bitter party-publication, to have "redoubled his old exclamations of popery, tyranny, superstitious idolatry, oppressions, murthers, Irish witnesses, &c., of whose subornation no man in the three kingdoms could have given a more exact account than himself—his vain-glory, and the conceit of his own dexterity, and his former constant success in making confusions inclining him to fancy (what his flatterers suggested) that 'the whole city and kingdom were at his beck, and upon the holding up of his finger would presently rise in arms to extirpate the two brothers of Slavery and Popery,' as they were lewdly wont in their private debauches to stile the King and his Royal Highness."

The conspirators of the West of England, especially in Taunton and Devonshire, not being sufficiently prompt or forward in their co-operation, he determined to leave England. Thus having seen all his hopes and contrivances dashed in pieces at home, he had nothing left to do (observes the bigoted historian) but to take shelter in a commonwealth, which in his former greatness he had so mortally provoked; there to lead a life of dis-

grace and misery, and to die neglected in a country of which he had formerly expressed so great a hatred: and yet still retaining so much venomous rancour against his most gracious master, as to profess with his last breath, that 'he had deservedly received his death's wound (meaning the bruise in his side) and now his death, in that country where he had done his own so much mischief.'\* With this view, he embarked for Holland upon his discharge; and, after a dangerous voyage arriving at Amsterdam, took a house in that city.† But though he thus escaped the acrimony of his political and spiritual antagonists, he could not elude his old distemper the gout, to which he fell a victim January 22, 1683.

His body, being embalmed, was brought to England, and interred with his ancestors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument with a highly honourable inscription was erected to his memory.

It was a misfortune to this noble personage, that the account of the times in which he lived, and of the government in which he so largely participated, has been transmitted to posterity by his professed enemies. This may, in some measure, account for his not making a very amiable figure in history; so that, while his abilities stand confessed by all, the excellence of his conduct and the integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. Neither is it now easily to be imagined, what contrivances

\* When he was one of the Commissioners sent thither, in the year 1660, to invite his Majesty home freely and without terms.

† He applied, also, to be made a Burgher of that city; upon which occasion, it is said, his *Delenda est Carthago* was suggested to his recollection.

were set on foot by his adversaries in his life-time, in order to render his name detestable. Marchmont Needham, in particular, is said to have been specially employed to defame his character; particularly in a quarto pamphlet entitled, ‘A Pacquet of Advices and Animadversions, sent from London to the Men of Shaftesbury; which is of Use for all his Majesty’s Subjects in the Three Kingdoms.’ London, 1676.\*

He was, also, represented as having had the vanity to expect to be chosen King of Poland. Hence his name of ‘Count Tapsky,’ alluding to the tap, which had been applied upon the breaking-out of an ulcer between his ribs. It was also a standing jest, with the lower wits, to stile him ‘Shiftsbury,’ instead of Shaftesbury, on account of his notorious libertinism of character: and it is recorded that Charles II., who would both take liberties and bear them, once in a vein of raillery and with reference to his amours, said to him; “I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions:” to which, with a low bow and a grave face, the Earl replied, “May it please your Majesty, of a subject I believe I am.” At which the merry Monarch laughed heartily.

This story, whether true or false, seems to prove, that he was generally regarded as a dissolute character; and, if he were really so, his regularity in the offices of domestic religion was only adding hypocrisy to his other vices: yet was he sincerely esteemed by Locke, and by other men of virtue.

Various however as historians report the motives of his actions, they agree in ascribing to him uncom-

\* This abuse is transferred, *verbatim*, into the account given of Shaftesbury by the Oxford historian, Antony Wood.

mon powers of mind, together with a daring and restless spirit. He appears to have been distinguished by subtilty of argument, rather than solidity of judgement; and to have changed his plans with a frequency matched only by the indefatigableness, with which for the time he pursued them. He married three wives, but left only one son Antony, by the second (Frances, daughter of David Cecil, third Earl of Exeter) who was the father of the noble author of the ‘Characteristics.’\*

From his character in the ‘*Biographia Britannica*,’ which is one continued panegyric, Macpherson and Dalrymple have made many heavy deductions. The reader will not be sorry to see it, as sketched by Dryden in his ‘Absalom and Achitophel.’ He must make large allowances, indeed, for the hostility of the artist: but he cannot fail to admire the brilliancy of the execution.

“ Of these the false Achitophel was first;  
 A name to all succeeding ages curst:  
 For close designs and crooked counsels fit;  
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit:  
 Restless, unfix’d in principles and place;  
 In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace:  
 A fiery soul which, working out it’s way,  
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
 And o’er-inform’d the tenement of clay. }  
 A daring pilot in extremity:  
 Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high,  
 He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,  
 Would steer too nigh the sands to show his wit.  
 Great wits are sure to madness near allied,  
 And thin partitions do their bounds divide:

\* For the superintendence of his grandson’s early education the old gentleman fixed upon a learned female, of the name of Birch, who was intimately conversant with the Latin and Greek tongues.

Else why should he, with wealth and honour blest,  
 Refuse his age the needful hours of rest ;  
 Punish a body which he could not please,  
 Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease ?  
 And all to leave what with his toil he won  
 To that unfeather'd two-legg'd thing, a son ;  
 Got while his soul did huddled notions try,  
 And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.  
 In friendship false, implacable in hate ;  
 Resolved to ruin, or to rule, the state.  
 To compass this, the triple bond he broke ;  
 The pillars of the public safety shook,  
 And fitted Israel [*England*] for a foreign yoke :  
 Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,  
 Usurp'd a patriot's all-atoning name.  
 So easy still it proves, in factious times,  
 With public zeal to cancel private crimes.  
 How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,  
 Where none can sin against the people's will ;  
 Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,  
 Since in another's guilt they find their own !

Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge :  
 The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.  
 ' In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abethdin [*chancellor*]  
 With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean ;  
 Unbribed, unbought, the wretched to redress,  
 Swift of despatch and easy of access.'  
 Oh ! had he been content to serve the crown  
 With virtues only proper to the gown ;  
 Or had the rankness of the soil been freed  
 From cockle, that oppress'd the noble seed ;  
 David for him his tuneful harp had strung,  
 And heaven had wanted one immortal song.  
 But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand ;  
 And fortune's ice prefers to virtue's land.  
 Achitophel, grown weary to possess  
 A lawful fame and lazy happiness,  
 Disdain'd the golden fruit to gather free,  
 And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree."

In 'the Medal' he adds :

" Yet should thy crimes succeed, should lawless power  
 Compass those ends thy greedy hopes devour,



Thy canting friends thy mortal foes would be ;  
 Thy god and theirs would never long agree.  
 For thine, if thou hast any, must be one  
 That lets the world and human kind alone ;  
 A jolly god, that passes hours too well  
 To promise heaven, or threaten us with hell ;  
 That unconcern'd can at rebellion sit,  
 And wink at crimes he did himself commit.  
 A tyrant theirs : the heaven their priesthood paints,  
 A conventicle of gloomy sullen saints ;  
 A heaven like Bedlam, slovenly and sad,  
 Fore-doom'd for souls with false religion mad.

Without a vision, poets can foreshow  
 What all but fools by common sense may know :  
 If true succession from our isle should fail,  
 And crowds profane with impious arms prevail ;  
 Nor thou, nor those thy factious arts engage,  
 Shall reap that harvest of rebellious rage,  
 With which thou flatter'st thy decrepit age. }  
 The swelling poison of the several sects,  
 Which wanting vent the nation's health infects,  
 Shall burst it's bag ; and, fighting out their way,  
 The various venoms on each other prey.  
 The presbyter, puff'd up with spiritual pride,  
 Shall on the necks of the lewd nobles ride ;  
 His brethren damn, the civil power defy,  
 And parcel out republic prelacy.  
 But short shall be his reign : his rigid yoke  
 And tyrant power will puny sects provoke ;  
 And frogs, and toads, and all the tadpole train  
 Will croak to heaven for help from this devouring crane.  
 The cut-throat sword and clamorous gown shall jar  
 In sharing their ill-gotten spoils of war ;  
 Chiefs shall be grudged the part, which they pretend ;  
 Lords envy Lords, and friend with every friend }  
 About their impious merit shall contend.  
 The surly Commons shall respect deny,  
 And justle peerage out with property.  
 Their General either shall his trust betray,  
 And force the crowd to arbitrary sway ;  
 Or they, suspecting his ambitious aim,  
 In hate of Kings shall cast anew the frame, }  
 And thrust out Collatine that bore that name,

Thus inborn broils the factious would engage,  
 On wars of exiled heirs, or foreign rage,  
 Till halting vengeance overtook our age :  
 And our wild labours, wearied into rest,  
 Reclined us on a rightful monarch's breast."

The history of his own times, which Shaftesbury had drawn up in order to display the principles and motives both of his enemies' conduct and his own, he entrusted, upon his retiring into Holland, to the care of Mr. Locke. Unfortunately for the public, when Sidney fell a victim to a charge of treason grounded upon papers found in his closet, Locke, intimidated by the apprehension of a similar prosecution, threw his friend's manuscript into the flames. This work began with the Reformation, and tracing the course of events down to the Civil War, showed what had been accomplished, and what remained still defective, in the great work of English liberty. The noble writer is said to have been particularly excellent in his sketches of individual character, duplicates of some of which (chiefly Dorsetshire gentlemen) from the early pages of his composition, still remain in the possession of his descendents.\*

With a view of repairing the mischief, which his cowardice or his caution had occasioned, Locke resolved to write at large the History of his illustrious friend. Mr. Stringer, a very respectable gentleman of Wiltshire, and a friend of Mr. Locke's, who during Shaftesbury's Chancellorship had been Clerk of the Presentations, did more than resolve; he executed :

\* See the Extracts for the character of the Hon. William Hastings, which even Mr. Horace Walpole, certainly no friend to Lord Shaftesbury, has pronounced 'a curious and well-drawn portrait of our ancient English gentry.'

and his composition, though from various causes too imperfect for publication, was advantageously placed with the rest of the family-papers in the hands of Mr. Martyn, author of ‘Timoleon,’ a tragedy of some popularity. To this the latter writer subjoined his Lordship’s speeches, adduced the high testimonies of Mr. Locke and Le Clerc in his favour, and repelled the censures of L’Estrange, Bishop Burnet, and Sir William Temple.\* But even so enlarged, the late Earl did not think it sufficiently finished for the public eye; and therefore consigned it, for farther improvement, to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Master of the Temple. By Dr. Sharpe it was recommended to the inspection of an additional censor, who however did little but point out its imperfections and suggest references; and it finally with 500*l.* passed into the hands of Dr. Kippis, who after some time, “for reasons (as he himself oddly observes) not unfriendly to either side,” returned all the papers.†

\* Among other anecdotes he recorded that, notwithstanding Dryden’s dark portrait of Achitophel in his celebrated satire, the Chancellor, as one of the Governors of the Charter House, gave a nomination in that valuable seminary to one of the poet’s sons; whence some have affected to account for the four lines (inserted in the second edition of the poem in question) beginning

‘In Israel’s court, &c.’

But Malone, in his ‘Life of Dryden,’ has amply refuted the whole story.

† So he states in his ‘*Biographia*,’ published in 1789; and he died in 1795. At the sale of his library, a quarto volume of a Life of Lord Shaftesbury, probably the one in contemplation, was purchased by the Duke of Grafton: and if so, it must have been privately printed between the two dates above-mentioned.

*Some Observations concerning the regulating of  
Elections for Parliament.*

‘ The parliament of England is that supreme and absolute power, which gives life and motion to the English government. It directs and actuates all it’s various procedures, is the parent of our peace, defender of our faith, and foundation of our properties; and, as the constitution of this great spring and *primum mobile* of affairs is in strength and beauty, so will also all acts and performances, which are derived from it, bear a suitable proportion and similitude. For whether the constituting members of this great body be such as may give it the denomination of *sanctum*, *indoctum*, or *insanum* (by which epithets some former parliaments have been known and distinguished), such will also be all the acts and statutes which are made by them, each naturally wearing the character and likeness of that, to which it owes it’s being. This Great Council bears a date coævous perhaps with the originals of our government, and was constituted with sufficient prudence and caution, with relation to the innocence and ignorance of the times and people then in being. It was then, that a deed of three inches square was sufficient to convey away twenty good manors and lordships. But subtilty and cunning having now made some bolder advances into the world, we are forced to alter our measures, and instead of inches to take ells. It seems therefore necessary, as in things of smaller concernment, so most especially in matters of so much greater moment as is the settling and fortifying our parliament, so to erect it’s bulwarks and rampiers, that the most

vigorous attacks of fraud and corruption may make no breaches and inroads upon it. It is here, our care and diligence ought to be applied with the greatest exactness; for, as our laws and government are established, we can derive our happiness or misery from no other source. It is from the fruit of this Great Council that we must expect our nutriment, and from it's branches our protection. I hope therefore it may not seem over officious, if with the skilful gardener I do open and expose the roots of this great tree of the Commonwealth, with an intent that every branch and fibre may with the greater ease and conveniency be so trimmed and laid, that no defects or redundances may continue; but that every individual of this great body may happily conspire to produce that peace and tranquillity in the nation, which may be expected from their councils and a well-constituted government. It seems then reasonable to believe, that the privilege of sending representatives to parliament (though grounded upon a natural and fundamental right in the people) was at first immediately derived from the King; for that, where histories and records begin to transmit memorials to succeeding ages, we find him sending his writs directed to such persons, towns, or vills, which he thought most considerable within the kingdom, by virtue of which writs elections were accordingly made and representatives returned to parliament. That the King's prerogative does still extend to grant this franchise to such other towns or villages, as he shall think fit, I cannot affirm; because some learned in the law assure us it cannot legally be done, but by act of parliament. But others are again of a contrary opinion, as was adjudged in the case of Duncannon and Newark. It

is certain, that parliamentary matters were never settled otherwise than by act of parliament, as appears by several statutes in such cases made: and we also find the privilege of sending members to parliament given to several places by act of parliament, which had been unnecessary, could the King alone have granted it by any other method. It is, moreover, a thing of very dangerous consequence, to have such a power lodged in the King alone: for then he might thereby enfranchise what number of vills he pleases, and by the same power place the election of their representatives in a select number, such as he should always have the power to direct and appoint; which would be in effect to choose his own parliament, and thereby to make or repeal what laws he pleases. Wherefore, I conceive, this point ought now to be so settled, as for the future to obviate all such inconveniences which might otherwise ensue. Another thing which also requires the care of this Great Council, is to limit and restrain the exorbitancies of a *Quo Warranto*, so that the electing boroughs may have their privileges and immunities secured from the judgment of a corrupt judge, who derives his being and holds his judicial breath only *ad voluntatem domini*. If this grievance be not obviated by some good law, a King may as well destroy all the old boroughs as erect new ones, to the inevitable overthrow of our laws and government.

‘ In the next place, I conceive it may become the prudence of this parliament (from which we may expect the foundations of our happiness will be so laid, as to become impregnable against all the future assaults of an invading tyranny) to look into the constitutions and customs of such boroughs which have

right to elect, and which in several particulars seems to require a touch of the supreme authority to set them right. The first inconvenience they labour under, is the variety of their respective titles: some claiming to elect by prescription, others by grant; some again by a select number, others by the populary, some by the magistrate and burgesses, others by the magistrate, burgesses, and freemen, others again by the magistrate, burgesses, freemen, and commonalty; and some also in respect of their ancient borough-houses only, the rest of the town, which is the much more considerable part, being excluded. The grievance, which grows from this difference of title in several boroughs, is often ambiguity and uncertainty of title in the same borough; for sometimes the select number contends with the community, one borough-house with another, &c. And hence it is, that we have usually so many petitioners in each parliament, the magistrate not knowing which of right ought to be returned. Nor can a Committee of Elections ever settle their respective titles by a final determinative judgement; for we find it often giving an opinion upon one and the same title, and in the same borough, differently, as favour and power can make the stronger interest. All this may be remedied by an act, which should give one and the same new title to all the electing boroughs in England and Wales, by which alone they should all for the future claim to send members to parliament; thereby settling the electing power in such persons (whether they be a select number, or the whole populace) as in prudence should be thought most convenient. The design of choosing the members of

parliament by the people was, that no laws should be made, no monies raised, nor any course pursued by those who sit at the helm, but with the steerage and direction of the people by their representatives. Now by all the laws and rules of representation no town, city, or body of people can be represented without a vote in the choice of their representative. That the parliament, as now constituted, is no equal representative of the people, is notorious; in that several boroughs, so inconsiderable that they contain not above three or four houses, send each of them two representatives to parliament, whilst others (which contain an hundred times their number of houses, people, trade, and wealth) have no representative at all in the management of public affairs. So also the county of Cornwall sends no less than forty three members to parliament, whilst the city and whole county of Chester sends but four, and the twelve counties of Wales but twenty four among them all. From this inequality of representation it follows, that acts are often made which redound to the prejudice of the whole body of the people, merely to advance the gain and advantage of some particular places; as was that which prohibited the importation of Irish cattle, being carried principally by the supernumerary votes of some counties, which have more electing boroughs than upon a just and equal dividend do fall to their share; and these, being generally of a dry and barren soil, are thereby chiefly adapted to the breeding of cattle, which benefit would have been diminished by an inlet of beasts from Ireland. This inconvenience may be easily removed by depriving towns of less note of this franchise, and bestowing it upon others



of greater consideration in the same or in other counties, which most want it; as do those of Cambridge, Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, &c.

‘ Where the electing right is committed to a select number, I think it were desirable that the electors should be chosen annually, and not be tenants for life in their electorate: this would in a great degree prevent pre-engagements and corruption, which often happens where a power by long continuance in one person is apt to stagnate and putrefy. The great number of electors in popular boroughs, and in choosing knights of the shire, requires to be regulated and limited, and the power of election to be fixed in the optimacy only. My reasons for this are, that among the electing crowd the majority is generally of a mean and abject fortune in the world, and thereby subject not only to disorders and quarrels, but to be misguided also by their ignorance and total want of that discerning faculty, which electors in such weighty concerns ought to have: they are moreover under the temptation of being corrupted and seduced by the inveiglements of a little money, or a pot of ale: whilst those, whose circumstances are more enlarged, have their thoughts so likewise; being thereby raised beyond such low allurements, and rendered more careful how and into whose hands they dispose of this great trust, the breach whereof might at once rob and deprive them of that their substance, which has been the acquisition perhaps of some ages. It was for these and several other reasons mentioned in the preamble, that by the statute of 8 Hen. VI. c. 7. it was enacted that ‘ no knight of the shire shall be chosen by any who had not a freehold of the clear yearly value of 40*s. per ann.*,’ which was then as

much in value as 40*l. per ann.* is now, or has been since the finding out of the American treasure and the enlargement of our trade. And I think it but reasonable that as the value of money falls, so the wealth of the electors should rise, and that electing votes in the county should again be limited to such only who now have lands and tenements to that value, which 40*s. per ann.* bore in those times when this act was made. If this particular were thus regulated, the numbers at the county-elections would be reduced, probably to a fourth part of what they now are, and thereby the unreasonable expense in entertaining so great a crowd, and the great dangers which may accrue from such an ungovernable multitude, would be in a great degree avoided and prevented. As the persons electing ought to be men of substance, so in a proportioned degree ought also the members elected. It is not safe to make over the estates of the people in trust to men, who have none of their own; lest their domestic indigences, in conjunction with a foreign temptation, should warp them to a contrary interest, which in former parliaments we have sometimes felt to our sorrow. Wealth and substance will, also, give a lustre and reputation to our Great Council, and a security to the people: for their estates are then pawned, as so many pledges for their good behaviour, becoming thereby equal sharers themselves in the benefit or disadvantage which shall result from their own acts and counsels. Thus, a good estate may be a good security to engage faith and honesty; but he, who sits at the helm of government, ought to be not only a graduate in fortune, but in prudence and experience also. To me it seems extremely irregular, to see the unfledged youth make

his first advances into the world in the quality of a burgess for parliament, chosen upon no other account but because it was his fortune by his father's early death to become the landlord of a neighbouring borough, or is perhaps it's best customer, deriving thence the necessaries of a numerous family. Forty years, whereof twenty five are generally spent in childhood and vanity, seem to be few enough to entitle any one to the grandeur and gravity of an English senator; and why so many, who seem by their greenness to be as yet but a novelty to the world, should be admitted a place in this Great Council, whilst those of greater age, wisdom, and experience must be excluded, I do not understand.

‘ By the 1 Hen. V. c. 1. it is enacted, that ‘ every knight of the shire should be chosen out of such who are resident in the county, and every citizen and burgess from among the citizens and burgesses of the cities and boroughs electing.’ How far this act ought to be observed, will be worth consideration; for a confinement in this case seems to be an abridgement of a free choice, and it often happens that men of the greatest knowledge and experience in the affairs of the kingdom have their abode principally in the metropolis, especially such of the long robe, who by their profession are obliged to it. But the non-observance of this act on the other side has been often the occasion that courtiers have bolted into country-boroughs, and by the strength of their purse and liberal baits have so seduced these poor rural animals as to obtain an election from them, though to the ruin and overthrow of their own laws and liberties. The choosing of such men to serve in parliament might probably be obviated by an act, prohibiting ‘ the

expense of any money by treats or otherwise in order to be elected; it being only to these indirect methods, that such persons usually owe their success. But when all is done, it will be found difficult (though with the greatest art) to bring an old irregular structure into a convenient uniformity, otherwise than by razing it to the ground, and erecting a new pile by some better-contrived design. For although all the defects and irregularities in the election of members for parliament before-mentioned should be removed and altered, yet there still remains something in the very constitution of this part of our government, which is not so agreeable to a curious thought. A true and perfect model to build by is what I dare not pretend to give, yet that which follows may afford some hints and assistance to a better fancy and judgment. In respect then, that every individual person in the nation has a natural right to vote in this Great Council; but this being impracticable, they are forced to do it by proxy, *i. e.* by devolving this right upon certain common representatives indifferently chosen from certain select numbers and communities of men, in which the whole body of the people is or ought to be comprehended; and whereas every *pater-familias*, or house-keeper, is a natural prince, and is invested with an absolute power over his family, and has by necessary consequence the votes of all his family, man, woman, and child included in his: let then the Sheriff's precepts be directed to every parish within his county, which the next Sunday following the receipt thereof may be publicly read after the forenoon sermon in church; thereby giving notice to all the housekeepers in the parish to meet at a convenient place and certain hour the day following, in

order to choose an elector for the county. Let also the churchwardens of each parish prepare a list of eight or ten of the most eminent persons for wealth, gravity, and wisdom in their parish. This list to be brought the next day to the place of election to this purpose, that every housekeeper do, by a dot with a pen adjoined to the person's name whom he inclines to elect, declare his choice, and that by the plurality of dots the elector be returned by the churchwardens to the Sheriff. This done in each parish, let the Sheriff prepare a list, in the same manner, of the names of all the gentry in the county who are each worth in lands and moveables at least 10,000*l.*, all debts paid, and not under forty years of age; which being in readiness, let all the representatives of parishes, chosen as aforesaid, repair to the county-town the very next day after the parish-election is over, and there proceed to elect out of the Sheriff's list seven, nine, or eleven members to serve in parliament, or so many as upon a just dividend shall be thought expedient to complete the number of members which are to act in this Great Council. Before the electors proceed to choose for the county, it might probably be convenient to administer an oath to this purpose, that 'their vote is no way pre-engaged, and that they will choose without favour or affection such members, as in their conscience they do believe most fit to serve in parliament. And that to the members elected, upon their admission to the House, this oath together with the others in use be administered, viz. That they are worth 10,000*l.* all their debts paid, and that directly or indirectly they did not expend any money or gratuity whatsoever in order to their election, and that they neither have nor will receive any gratuity whatsoever upon the ac-

count of their vote in parliament, but that they will in all matters that shall come before them act uprightly according to their conscience and understanding, without any private design, favour, or affection to any.' That, to prevent the inconveniences of fear and favour in electing, the method be such, that none may know on whom the electors' votes were conferred; and it may be thus performed: Suppose a room with two opposite doors, and a table in the middle, on which the list shall be spread. All the electors being at one door, let them go in one by one, each writing down his dots, and going out of the room at the other door before another comes in; or, if this may prove tedious, it is only placing more tables in the room with every one a list on it, and so many may then be admitted at once as there are lists, which will make greater despatch, and yet no discovery, in that every list is upon a separate table. To prevent also all fraud and indirect practice, it will be convenient that the officers concerned in the elections, both in parishes and in the county, be upon their oaths. It is, also, fit that a limited allowance be made for the expense of the day, which is to be in parishes, at the parish-charge; and, in the county-town, at the charge of the county.

' If any controversy arise about elections, either in the parishes or counties (which, in this method, can scarcely be supposed) it may be decided by the votes of the remaining persons upon the list, who pretend to no election. If several persons happen to have an equal number of votes, it shall be determined by lot. If any person from any part of England shall send his name to any particular county, to be inserted in their list as a person qualified to serve in parliament, it may be done; but none to stand candidate in more

than one list at a time, lest he should be chosen in both counties, and occasion the trouble of a new election. That the same list of candidates shall continue till the dissolution of the parliament, if it sits not above three years; and, upon the intermedial death or removal of any of the members for the county, then he who had the next majority of votes upon the list to succeed in his place, without farther trouble or charge of election.

‘ By this method the parliament will be a perfect representative of the whole body of the people, and also of every numerical person in the kingdom. Here can be no partial (and, consequently, prejudicial) acts made by separate interests and factions; none will sit in this Great Council but men of gravity, wisdom, integrity, and substance; no pensionary members, no unfair elections, no foul returns, no petitioners kept in attendance till a dissolution, no *Quo Warrantos* to destroy the natural fundamental rights of the people; no room for corruption, bribery, and debauchery either in the electors or the members elected; no patrimonies wasted in the extravagances of an election, no bankrupts shrowding themselves under the shelter of a parliamentary privilege; no unruly rabbles, tumults, factions, and disorders in election among the commonalty; no heats and animosities among the gentry, often caused by their violent competitions: but all will be managed with that evenness, justice, and temper, that nothing can more effectually conduce to the securing of our liberties and properties, the grandeur of our government, and the honour of our nation than such an establishment.’

*The Character of the Honourable W. Hastings,\* of Woodlands in Hampshire, second Son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon.*

‘ In the year 1638 lived Mr. Hastings; by his quality, son, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon. He was, peradventure, an original in our age; or rather the copy of our ancient nobility, in hunting not in warlike times.

‘ He was low, very strong, and very active; of a reddish flaxen hair. His clothes always green cloth, and never all worth (when new) five pounds.

‘ His house was perfectly of the old fashion, in the midst of a large park well stocked with deer, and near the house, rabbits to serve his kitchen; many fish-ponds; great store of wood and timber: a bowling green in it, long but narrow, full of high ridges, it being never levelled since it was ploughed. They used round sand-bowls; and it had a banqueting-house like a stand, built in a tree.

‘ He kept all manner of sport hounds, that ran buck, fox, hare, otter, and badger; and hawks, long and short-winged. He had all sorts of nets for fish. He had a walk in the New Forest, and the manor of Christ Church. This last supplied him with red deer, sea and river-fish. And indeed all his neighbours’ grounds and royalties were free to him, who bestowed all his time on these sports, but what he borrowed to caress his neighbours’ wives and daughters; there being not a woman in all his walks, of

\* ‘ Connoisseur,’ No. 81. “ The picture of the extraordinary gentleman, here described, is now at the seat of Lord Shaftesbury at Winborne St. Giles near Cranborn in Dorsetshire; and this lively character of him was really and truly drawn by Antony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, and is inscribed on the picture.”



the degree of a yeoman's wife or under, and under the age of forty, but it was extremely her fault if he was not intimately acquainted with her. This made him very popular: always speaking kind to the husband, brother, or father; who was, to boot, very welcome to his house whenever he came. There he found beef, pudding, and small-beer in great plenty; a house not so neatly kept as to shame him or his dirty shoes; the great hall strewed with marrow-bones, full of hawk's perches, hounds, spaniels, and terriers; the upper side of the hall hung with fox-skins of this and the last year's killing; here and there a pole-cat intermixed; game-keepers' and hunters' poles in great abundance.

' The parlour was a large room as properly furnished. On the great hearth, paved with brick, lay some terriers, and the choicest hounds and spaniels. Seldom but two of the great chairs had litters of young cats in them, which were not to be disturbed, he having always three or four attending him at dinner; and a little white stick of fourteen inches lying by his trencher, that he might defend such meat as he had no mind to part with to them. The windows (which were very large) served for places to lay his arrows, cross-bows, stone-bows, and other such like accoutrements. The corners of the room full of the best chosen hunting and hawking poles. An oyster-table at the lower end, which was of constant use twice a day all the year round: for he never failed to eat oysters before dinner and supper through all seasons; the neighbouring town of Pool supplied him with them.

' The upper part of the room had two small tables and a desk, on one side of which was a church-Bible, and on the other the Book of Martyrs. On the tables were hawks' hoods, bells, and such like;

two or three old green hats with their crowns thrust in so as to hold ten or a dozen eggs, which were of a pheasant kind of poultry he took much care of and fed himself. Tables, dice, cards, and boxes were not wanting. In the hole of the desk, were store of tobacco-pipes that had been used.

‘ On one side of this end of the room was the door of a closet, wherein stood the strong beer and the wine, which never came thence but in single glasses; that being the rule of the house exactly observed. For he never exceeded in drink, or permitted it.

‘ On the other side was the door of an old chapel, not used for devotion. The pulpit, as the safest place, was never wanting of a cold chine of beef, venison-pasty, gammon of bacon, or great apple-pye with thick crust extremely baked.

‘ His table cost him not much, though it was good to eat at. His sports supplied all but beef and mutton, except Fridays, when he had the best salt-fish (as well as other fish) he could get, and was the day his neighbours of best quality most visited him. He never wanted a London pudding, and always sung it in with ‘ My part lies therein a.’ He drank a glass or two of wine at meals, very often syrup of gilliflower in his sack; and had always a tun glass without feet stood by him, holding a pint of small beer, which he often stirred with rosemary.

‘ He was well-natured, but soon angry, calling his servants ‘ bastards’ and ‘ cuckoldy’ knaves, in one of which he often spoke truth to his own knowledge; and sometimes in both, though of the same man. He lived to be a hundred; never lost his eye-sight, but always wrote and read without spectacles; and got on horseback without help. Until past fourscore, he rode to the death of a stag as well as any.’

## ALGERNON SIDNEY.\*

[1622—1683.]

**T**HIS illustrious character, the second son of Robert Earl of Leicester by his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, was born about the year 1622. His noble father gave great attention to his education, even in his early years; and in 1632, when he went Ambassador to Denmark, took him in his train, as he did also when in the same capacity he visited Paris in 1636. About this time, his genius began to display itself: and an active life seeming best suited to the bent of his natural disposition, the Earl, upon being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, procured him a commission in his own regiment of horse in 1641; and sent him over to that kingdom, accompanied by his elder brother, Philip Viscount Lisle, who acted as deputy to his father. The Irish rebellion had then broken out; and Sidney upon many occasions distinguished himself by his bravery.

In 1643, he had the royal permission to return to England with his brother, on the express condition of

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *General Biographical Dictionary*, Memoirs prefixed to Hollis' Edition of his Works, and Towers' *Examination, &c. of the Charges brought against Russell and Sidney*, 1773.

repairing without loss of time to his Majesty at Oxford; of which the parliament receiving intelligence, they were both taken into custody upon their landing in Lancashire. The King suspected, that they had voluntarily thrown themselves into his enemies' hands; and the event appeared to justify his surmises, for from this time they adhered to the parliamentary interest. In 1644, Algernon accepted a Captain's commission of horse; and, the year following, was raised to the rank of Colonel of Cavalry by General Fairfax.

Lord Lisle being shortly afterward appointed by the parliament Lieutenant General of Ireland, and Commander in Chief of their Irish forces, Algernon (who served under his brother in that kingdom) performed such signal exploits, that he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General of the Irish Horse, and made Governor of Dublin. The latter appointment however, being thought too weighty a trust for so young a man, who was likewise somewhat dissipated in his conduct, was in 1647 transferred to Colonel Jones, a senior officer. But upon his return to England, he received the thanks of the House of Commons for his exertions in the sister-island; and, in recompence of his services, was soon afterward made Governor of Dover Castle. In 1648, he was nominated one of the Members of the High Court of Justice, appointed to try Charles I.; but, from some cause or other yet unascertained, he neither sat in judgement upon that occasion, nor does his name appear in the warrant for his execution. Yet was he, on patriotic grounds, a zealous foe to tyranny of every description, always professing to make Marcus Brutus his model; so that, when Cromwell usurped the supreme authority, he opposed him with great

violence; and could never be prevailed upon to accept any employment, civil or military, under either of the Protectors.

By some writers it is conjectured, that he absented himself from the trial of Charles at the request of his father, whose political principles led him to disapprove that transaction; though by the son it was subsequently vindicated in a conversation at Copenhagen, as "the justest action that ever was done in England, or any where else." It ought to be observed, that when the University of Copenhagen laid before him their *album*,\* he wrote in it the following lines, and subscribed them with his name:

—*Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*  
*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*†

From these sentiments compared with his labours in the cause of civil liberty, for which he died, we

\* A book with blank leaves, in which strangers are desired to inscribe whatever they think proper.

† Under the etching of Sidney's Head in Hollis' Memoirs, which is accompanied by the flag he bore during the civil wars, with the simple inscription

SANCTUS AMOR

PATRIÆ

DAT ANIMUM,

is subjoined the following anecdote:

"At the time when Mr. Algernon Sidney was Ambassador at the court of Denmark, Monsieur Terlon the French Ambassador had the confidence to tear out of the book of Mottoes in the King's Library this verse, which Mr. Sidney (according to the liberty allowed to all noble strangers) had written in it, *Manus hæc*, &c.

"Though Monsieur Terlon understood not one word of Latin, he was told by others the meaning of that sentence, which he considered as a libel upon the French government, and upon

may reasonably conclude, that if any well concerted plan had been formed for deposing or even destroying Cromwell as an usurper, he would have cordially joined in carrying it into execution.

After Richard Cromwell had resigned the Protectorship, Sidney willingly engaged in the administration of public affairs; in May, 1659, was nominated by the parliament one of the Council of State; and, the following month, accepted the appointment, in conjunction with two other Commissioners, of mediating a peace between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Upon the Restoration, he was advised by his friends, through his father's interest with the King, to get his name inserted in the Act of Oblivion; but he chose rather to continue an exile in different parts of Europe. His longest residence was at Rome and in it's environs, where he received numerous civilities from persons of the first consideration, and was highly esteemed for his courage, wit, and learning. But the Argus eyes of the English government were upon him; and a plan, it is said, was laid to assassinate him at Augsburg, which he escaped only by being at the time in Holland. Tired of paying and receiving visits, and wishing to withdraw himself more from the world, he passed into Switzerland, where he spent a short time with General Ludlow and his companions in banishment. He, afterward, visited France; and it is recorded, that as he was hunting one day with Louis XIV., that Monarch took great notice of the horse upon which he was mounted,

such as was then setting up in Denmark by French assistance or example." (Lord Molesworth's Preface to his 'Account of Denmark:')

and sent to request him to 'fix whatever value he pleased upon it.' Sidney answered, 'he did not choose to part with it at any price.' The King, unused to such denials, ordered a proper sum of money to be tendered to him, and in the event of his refusing it, the horse to be seized. Upon which, Sidney instantly with his pistol shot the animal, saying, 'It was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should never be mastered by a King of slaves.'

In 1677, the Earl of Leicester, desirous to see his son once more before he died, obtained from the King a special pardon for all past offences; in consequence of which, he returned home\* at the critical juncture when the parliament were urging his Majesty to a war against France. As he came last from that country, and took considerable pains to dissuade his countrymen from the measure in question, shallow politicians conceived him to be in the French interest: but he had other motives for giving this advice. He had, in fact, been a spy upon the secret negotiations of the English and French courts, and had authentic intelligence that a good understanding subsisted between the two crowns, and that the pretended avidity of war was only counterfeited for the purpose of raising large supplies to be lavished in corrupting the parliament.† If any one indeed at

\* His friend the Hon. Henry Savile also, then Ambassador at the French court, interested himself very much upon the occasion.

† Or, as Burnet in his 'History of his Own Times' affirms, "of raising an army, and keeping it beyond sea till it was trained and modelled." This suggestion Burnet, most probably, made on the authority of the Russell family, and that of Lord Essex.

this time was in treaty for a pension from France, it was Charles himself, who cared little how he procured money, provided he procured enough to maintain his mistresses and to keep his favourites in good humour.

Sidney's father dying soon after he arrived in England, he was under no farther restraint with respect to his public conduct. In this state of emancipation, unable to suppress his indignation at the duplicity of the court, he was quickly noticed by the emissaries of government, and a resolution was taken to compass his ruin. The scheme was heartily supported by the Duke of York and his party, who detested his very name, as ominous to their cause. Effectual interest was made to keep him out of parliament in 1678, when he stood candidate for Guildford; and though he carried his election on a second contest, a double return was made through court-influence, and he was rejected by the decision of the House.

Not content with this success, his enemies resolved to sacrifice both him and Lord William Russell to their safety. These two distinguished men were known to be intimate friends; and it was no secret, that they associated with the Earl of Shaftesbury and other malcontents, who frequently assembled to consult upon the measures proper to guard the Church and State from the hazards connected with a Popish successor. At these meetings, some persons had even

and as he had previously said, "some took Sidney for a pensioner of France," it may perhaps sufficiently protect the memories both of him and of Russell from the malevolent insinuations of Dalrymple, founded upon their transactions with Barillon—if any such there were.



gone so far, as to propose the exciting of insurrections; and upon this last circumstance was grounded the indictment for high-treason.

Lord William Russell was the third, and at the period of his indictment the only surviving, son of the Earl of Bedford; and, in order to strike the greater terror into their opposers, the court began with him. He had taken an active part in the House of Commons against the Duke of York and the Papists; had carried up a vote against his Royal Highness for the concurrence of the Lords; had presented the Exclusion-Bill\* to that House, and upon it's rejection had in a speech at their bar eloquently lamented their conduct, and justified the assembly, of which he was a member, for having given it their approbation: and had joined with other friends to the Protestant cause, in presenting reasons to the Grand Jury of Middlesex for indicting the Duke as

\* Upon this subject, Colonel Titus in his speech observed, "That to accept of expedients for securing the Protestant religion, after such a King mounted the throne, was as strange as if there were a lion in the lobby, and they should vote that 'they would rather secure themselves by letting him in and chaining him, than by keeping him out!'" This is versified by Bramston in his witty 'Art of Politics,' in imitation of Horace's *Quanto rectius hic, &c.*

'I hear a lion in the lobby roar:  
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door,  
And keep him there; or shall we let him in,  
To try if we can turn him out again?'

The poet had previously, in his directions as to preserving consistency and propriety of character, *Aut famam sequere, &c.*, said,

'To both the Pelhams give the Scipios' mind.'

a Papist. These were more than sufficient causes for devoting him to destruction: and an opportunity unhappily offered itself soon after the discovery of the Rye-House Plot, in June 1683.

This plot is said to have been formed by the presbyterians of the republican party, and by some zealots of distinction in the church, who dreaded the Popish succession. The design was, to kill or to seize the King, as he passed through the enclosures of a farm called 'the Rye-House,' in his way from Newmarket to London, which he usually did to avoid the public road. A fire happening at Newmarket, the King (it is added) returned sooner to London than was expected, and before the assassins were prepared to carry their nefarious project into effect. A proclamation was issued on the twenty third of June, for apprehending Rumbold the owner of the farm, and several officers and gentlemen, who were represented as the principal conspirators; and on the twenty eighth Lord Howard of Escrick, a man of abandoned character, was accepted as crown-evidence upon his engaging himself to criminate Lord Russell. The latter gentleman was, in consequence, instantly sent to the Tower. Soon afterward, the same noble scoundrel was induced to extend his accusation to Algernon Sidney, who was likewise taken into custody by a messenger, while one of the clerks of the Privy Council seized all his papers.

But, for the reason above-assigned, Russell's trial was expedited without delay. On the thirteenth of July he was indicted, at the Old Bailey, for having 'conspired to excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom; for having compassed and imagined the death of the King; and for having plotted with other

traitors to seize his Majesty's guards, &c.' In the ferocious determination of the ministry to make sure of their victim, the most unjustifiable precipitation was resorted to. He desired to have 'his trial put off till the next day, as some material witnesses could not reach London till late at night; or at least that it might be adjourned till the afternoon:' but both these reasonable requests were denied. He challenged the foreman of the jury: in this, also, he was over-ruled. The sole evidences against him were Lord Howard and Colonel Rumsey, another pardoned conspirator; and the whole of their joint evidence only proved, that 'he had walked up and down in the house of one Shepherd, while some persons held a discourse about seizing the King's guards,' though it was not pretended that he either joined company with them or uttered a single word.

On behalf of Lord Russell the Earl of Anglesey deposed, that 'about a week previously Lord Howard had declared to the Earl of Bedford in his hearing, that he knew nothing against his son, or any body else concerned in the plot.' This evidence Dr. Burnet corroborated by declaring, that 'Howard had been with him the night after the plot was discovered, and did then (as he had done before) with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven declare, he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any, treating it with the most sovereign contempt.' Mr. Howard, a relation of the villainous accuser, related a conversation with him to the same purport, adding these remarkable words; "If my Lord Howard has the same soul on Monday that he had on Sunday, this cannot be true that he swears against my Lord Russell. I am very

sorry to hear any man of my name guilty of these things."

To every impartial person indeed it was evident, that Howard's testimony deserved not the least degree of credit. Yet a jury, packed for the purpose, brought in Russell guilty of high-treason: and though the most powerful interest was exerted to save him, it had no effect; as he could not be brought to make an open declaration in favour of the principle of non-resistance. This was what the court anxiously coveted from a man of his family, interest, and character; and would have purchased, even at the high price of foregoing the gratification of their devilish revenge. His firmness in refusing it, and life along with it, ranks him with the first of patriots. It was part of his political creed, "that a free nation, like England, might defend their religion and liberty when invaded or taken from them, though under pretence of colour of law," and in support of this tenet he suffered death. He was beheaded on a scaffold erected for the purpose, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday, July 21, 1683.\*

\* "The very day on which Russell was executed, the University of Oxford passed their famous Decree, condemning formally, as impious and heretical propositions, every principle upon which the constitution of this or any other free country can maintain itself. Nor was this learned body satisfied with stigmatising such principles as contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to the Decrees of Councils, to the writings of Fathers, to the faith and profession of the Primitive Church, as a destruction to the kingly government, the safety of his Majesty's person, the public peace, the laws of nature, and bounds of human society: but after enumerating the several obnoxious propositions, among which was one, declaring 'all civil authority derived from the people;'

The general outcry against the jury, who upon such insufficient and corrupt evidence had condemned Lord Russell, made the court more wary in their proceedings against Algernon Sidney. His trial, therefore, was delayed till other measures, still more illegal, had been taken to secure his condemnation. At length, their scheme being ripe for execution, he was indicted for high-treason, and brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench before Chief Justice Jefferies, November 21, 1683. The three first witnesses against him

another, asserting 'a mutual contract (tacit, or express) between the King and his subjects;' a third, maintaining 'the lawfulness of changing the succession to the crown'—with many others of the like nature—they solemnly decreed all and every of those propositions to be not only false and seditious, but impious! and that the books, which contained them, were fitted to lead to rebellion, murder of princes, and atheism itself!! Such are the absurdities, which men are not ashamed to utter, in order to cast odious imputations upon their adversaries; and such the manner in which churchmen will abuse, when it suits their policy, the holy name of that religion, whose first precept is to 'love one another,' for the purpose of teaching us to hate our neighbours with more than ordinary rancour. If 'Much Ado About Nothing' had been published in those days, the Town-Clerk's declaration, that "receiving a thousand ducats for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully was flat burglary," might be supposed to be a satire upon this decree: yet Shakspeare, well as he knew human nature, not only as to it's general course but in all it's eccentric deviations, could never dream that in the persons of Dogberry, Verges, and their followers he was representing the Vice-Chancellors and Doctors of a learned University!" (*Fox.*)

An article in Russell's indictment was, 'the attempting to seize and destroy the King's guards.' "The guards! What guards?" exclaims Sir Robert Atkins, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; "What, or whom, does the law understand or allow to be the King's guards?" &c. &c. See his 'Parliamentary and Political Tracts.'

were Robert West, Colonel Rumsey, and Mr. Keeling, whose evidence included only the reports of others. To the illegality of admitting the evidence of the latter Sidney objected, but in vain: the Judge took it down, and delivered it as part of the proofs against him, in summing up the evidence to the jury. Lord Howard then swore positively, that ‘Sidney had been present at two meetings, where schemes were formed for exciting insurrections against the government; and that he had been concerned in sending one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to engage the disaffected in that country to join the mal-contented of the south.’ In addition to these depositions, the Attorney General by a shameful finesse produced a passage from Sidney’s manuscript Discourses on Government, as a proof of his design to persuade the people of England to set aside their Sovereign, whenever it should appear to them that he had violated his high trust.\*

\* These, says the time-serving author of the ‘True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy,’ contained rank treason almost in every line: maintaining ‘That tyrants may be justly deposed by the people, and that the people are the only judges who are tyrants;’ and peculiarly concerning this nation asserting that ‘the power, originally in the people of England, is delegated to the parliament. He, the King, is subject to the law of God, as he is a man; to the people that makes him a king, inasmuch as he is a king. The law sets a measure to that subjection. The parliament is judge of the particular cases thereupon arising: he must be content to submit his interest to theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any other respect, than that he is by consent of all raised above any other. If he doth not like this condition, he may renounce the crown: but, if he receive it upon this condition (as all magistrates do the power they receive) and swear to perform it, he must expect the performance will be exacted, or revenge taken by those he hath betrayed.’

Thus a general principle, advanced in a political treatise, was construed into a traitorous libel against the reigning Prince, and formed part of the evidence in a charge of high-treason against the author!—Sidney made a short manly defence, chiefly remonstrating against the unwarrantable step of bringing his own writings in evidence against him,\* and offering the most solid reasons against giving any credit to the testimony of Lord Howard;† who subsequently to his imprisonment had called at his house, expressed his concern that ‘he should be brought into danger on account of this plot,’ and swore in the presence of God that ‘he did not believe in any plot, and that it was but a sham.’ This asseveration the Earl of Anglesey, Lord Clare, Lord Paget, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edward Howard, and Dr. Burnet again confirmed; but all to no purpose. He was brought in ‘guilty;’‡ and the only favour bestowed was, that the usual sentence of being hanged, drawn, and quartered should be changed to beheading. He suffered on Tower Hill, December 7, 1683, and met death with heroic fortitude. When he placed his head upon the block, being asked by the executioner, ‘as is customary in such cases, ‘if he

\* And affirming that ‘they might have been written many years ago in answer to Sir Robert Filmer, and written with no intention of publishing them, but only for private diversion and the exercise of his pen.’

† Of whom Dryden says,

‘And canting Nadab let oblivion damn,  
Who made new porridge for the paschal lamb.’

(*Absalom and Achitophel.*)

‡ “Guilty! Do you call that guilt?” is inscribed round an intaglio of the head of Sidney, on the reverse of Hollis’ Britannia Victrix graven on a gem of five colours.

should rise again?' he intrepidly replied, 'Not till the general resurrection: strike on.'

At the time of his execution, he delivered to the Sheriffs the following written paper, over which (one of his editors remarks) "Cato himself would have shed a tear:"

'Men, brethren, and fathers; friends, countrymen, and strangers;

'It may be expected, that I should now say some great matters unto you: but the rigour of the season, and the infirmities of my age, increased by a close imprisonment of above five months, do not permit me.

'Moreover, we live in an age that makes truth pass for treason: I dare not say any thing contrary unto it, and the ears of those that are about me will probably be found too tender to hear it. My trial and condemnation doth sufficiently evidence this.

'West, Rumsey, and Keeling, who were brought to prove the plot, said no more of me, than that 'they knew me not;' and some others, equally unknown to me, had used my name and that of some others, to give a little reputation to their designs. The Lord Howard is too infamous by his life, and the many perjuries not to be denied or rather sworn by himself, to deserve mention; and being a single witness, would be of no value, though he had been of unblemished credit, or had not seen and confessed that 'the crimes committed by him would be pardoned only for committing more;' and even the pardon promised could not be obtained, till the drudgery of swearing was over.

'This being laid aside, the whole matter is reduced to the papers said to be found in my closet by



the King's officers, without any other proof of their being written by me, than what is taken suppositious upon the similitude of a hand that is easily counterfeited, and which hath been lately declared in the Lady Car's case to be no lawful evidence in criminal causes.

‘ But, if I had been seen to write them, the matter would not be much altered. They plainly appear to relate to a large treatise written long since in answer to Filmer's book, which by all intelligent men is thought to be grounded upon wicked principles, equally pernicious to magistrates and people.

‘ If he might publish to the world his opinion, that ‘ all men are born under a necessity derived from the laws of God and nature to submit to an absolute kingly government, which could be restrained by no law, or oath; and that he who has the power, whether he came to it by creation, election, inheritance, usurpation, or any other way, has the right; and none must oppose his will, but the persons and estates of his subjects must be indispensably subject unto it;’ I know not why I might not have published my opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any law I have yet known.

‘ I might, as freely as he, publicly have declared my thoughts, and the reasons upon which they were grounded: and I am persuaded to believe, that God had left nations to the liberty of setting up such governments as best pleased themselves;

‘ That magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not nations for the honour or glory of magistrates;

‘ That the right and power of magistrates in every

country was that, which the laws of that country made it to be ;

‘ That those laws were to be observed, and the oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between magistrate and people, could not be violated without danger of dissolving the whole fabric ;

‘ That usurpation could give no right : and the most dangerous of all enemies to kings were they, who raising their power to an exorbitant height allowed to usurpers all the rights belonging unto it ;

‘ That such usurpations being seldom compassed without the slaughter of the reigning person or family, the worst of all villainies was thereby rewarded with the most glorious privileges ;

‘ That if such doctrines were received, they would stir up men to the destruction of princes with more violence than all the passions, that have hitherto raged in the hearts of the most unruly ;

‘ That none could be safe, if such a reward were proposed to any that could destroy them ;

‘ That few would be so gentle as to spare even the best, if by their destruction a wild usurper could become God’s Anointed, and by the most execrable wickedness invest himself with that divine character.

‘ This is the scope of the whole treatise : the writer gives such reasons, as at that time did occur to him, to prove it. This seems to agree with the doctrines of the most revered authors of all times, nations, and religions. The best and wisest of kings have ever acknowledged it. The present King of France has declared, that ‘ kings have that happy want of power, that they can do nothing contrary to the laws of their country ;’ and grounds

his quarrel with the King of Spain, *anno* 1667, upon that principle: King James, in his speech to the parliament, *anno* 1603, doth in the highest degree assert it: the scripture seems to declare it. If nevertheless the writer was mistaken, he might have been refuted by law, reason, and scripture; and no man for such matters was ever otherwise punished, than by being made to see his error: and it has not, as I think, been ever known that they had been referred to the judgement of a jury, composed of men utterly unable to comprehend them.

‘ But there was little of this in my case. The extravagance of my prosecutors goes higher: the abovementioned treatise was never finished, nor could be in many years, and most probably would never have been. So much as is of it was written long since, never reviewed, nor shown to any man; and the fiftieth part of it was not produced, and not the tenth of that offered to be read. That, which was never known to those who are said to have conspired with me, was said to be intended to stir up the people in prosecution of the designs of those conspirators!

‘ When nothing of particular application to time, place, or person could be found in it, as has ever been done by those who endeavoured to raise insurrections, all was supplied by innuendos.

‘ Whatsoever is said of the expulsion of Tarquin, the insurrection against Nero, the slaughter of Caligula or Domitian, the translation of the crown of France from Meroveus’ race to Pepin, and from his descendents to Hugh Capet and the like, was applied by innuendo to the King.

‘ They have not considered, that if such acts of state be not good, there is not a king in the world

that has any title to the crown he wears; nor can have any, unless he could deduce his pedigree from the eldest son of Noah, and show that the succession had still continued in the eldest of the eldest line, and been so deduced to him.

‘ Every one may see what advantage this would be to all the kings of the world; and whether, that failing, it were better for them to acknowledge they had received their crowns by the consent of willing nations, or to have no better title to them than usurpation and violence, which by the same ways may be taken from them.

‘ But I was long since told, that ‘ I must die, or the plot must die.’

‘ Lest the means of destroying the best Protestants in England should fail, the Bench must be filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar.

‘ None but such as these would have advised with the King’s Council of the means of bringing a man to death; suffered a jury to be packed by the King’s Solicitors and the Under Sheriff; admit of jurymen, who are not freeholders; receive such evidence as is above-mentioned; refuse a copy of an indictment, or suffer the statute of 46 Edw. III. to be read, that doth expressly enact, ‘ It should in no case be denied to any man upon any occasion whatsoever;’ overrule the most important points of law without hearing. And whereas the statute of 25 Edw. III., upon which they said I should be tried, doth reserve to the parliament all constructions to be made in points of treason, they could assume to themselves not only a power to make constructions, but such constructions as neither agree with law, reason, or common sense.

‘ By these means I am brought to this place. The

Lord forgive these practices, and avert the evils that threaten the nation from them! The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a sacrifice unto idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in this land! Bless thy people, and save them. Defend thy own cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; direct those that are willing; confirm those that waver; give wisdom and integrity unto all. Order all things so, as may most redound to thine own glory. Grant that I may die, glorifying thee for all thy mercies; and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth, and even by the confession of my opposers for that Old Cause in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declared thyself.\*

His remains were interred at Penshurst in Kent, among those of his noble ancestors. †

\* Of this paper Sidney, suspecting that the Sheriffs might suppress it, took the precaution of giving a copy to a friend: and it being understood that written transcripts were dispersed, it was printed, though not till a fortnight after the execution.

† Two abusive elegies upon his death, as specimens of political scurrility, are printed in Hollis' Memoirs, pp. 780—783; and an epitaph which, as being more just to his memory, is here subjoined:

‘Algernon Sidney fills this tomb—  
An Atheist, for disclaiming Rome;  
A Rebel bold, for striving still  
To keep the law above the will.  
Crimes, damned by church-government!  
Ah! whither must his ghost be sent?  
Of heaven it cannot but despair,  
If holy Pope be turnkey there:  
And hell will ne'er it entertain,  
For there is all tyrannic reign!  
—Where goes it then? Where 't ought to go—  
Where pope nor devil have to do.’

Upon the melancholy fate of these two martyrs to the liberties of their country, of whom Mr. Fox observes (in the Introductory Chapter to his posthumous 'History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.') that "the very sound of their names is still animating to every Englishman attached to their glorious cause," I cannot forbear inserting the more detailed reflexions of the same congenial historian in a subsequent page of his work. After remarking, that the condemnation and execution of Russell was a most flagrant violation of law and justice, he adds, "The proceedings in Sidney's case were still more detestable. The production of papers containing speculative opinions upon government and liberty, written long before, and perhaps never even intended to be published, together with the use made of those papers in considering them as a substitute for the second witness to the overt act, exhibited such a compound of wickedness and nonsense, as is hardly to be paralleled in the history of judicial tyranny. But the validity of pretences was little attended to, at that time, in the case of a person whom the court had devoted to destruction: and upon evidence, such as has been stated, was this great and excellent man condemned to die. Pardon was not to be expected. Mr. Hume says, that such an interference on the part of the King, though it might have been 'an act of heroic generosity,' could not be regarded as 'an indispensable duty.' He might have said with more propriety, that it was idle to expect that the government, after having incurred so much guilt in order to obtain the sentence, should by remitting it relinquish the object, just when it was within its grasp. The same historian considers the jury as highly blameable, and so do I: but what was their

guilt, in comparison of that of the court who tried, and of the government who prosecuted, in this infamous cause? Yet the jury, being the only party that can with any colour be stated as acting independently of the government, is the only one mentioned by him as blameable. The prosecution is wholly omitted in his censure, and so is the court; this last, not from any tenderness for the judge (who, to do this author justice, is no favourite with him) but lest the odious connexion between that branch of the judicature and the government should strike the reader too forcibly: for Jefferies, in this instance, ought to be regarded as the mere tool and instrument (a fit one, no doubt) of the Prince, who had appointed him for the purpose of this and similar services. Lastly, the King is gravely introduced on the question of pardon, as if he had had no prior concern in the cause, and were now to decide upon the propriety of extending mercy to a criminal condemned by a court of judicature; nor are we once reminded what that judicature was, by whom appointed, by whom influenced, by whom called upon, to receive that detestable evidence, the very recollection of which, even at this distance of time, fires every honest heart with indignation. As well might we palliate the murders of Tiberius, who seldom put to death his victims without a previous decree of his senate. The moral of all this seems to be, that whenever a prince can by intimidation, corruption, illegal evidence, or other such means obtain a verdict against a subject whom he dislikes, he may cause him to be executed without any breach of 'indispensable duty;' nay, that it is 'an act of heroic generosity,' if he spares him!"——

"Thus fell Russell and Sidney, two names that will,

it is to be hoped, be for ever dear to every English heart. When their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell, that English liberty will be fast approaching to it's final consummation. Their deportment was such as might be expected from men, who knew themselves to be suffering, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. In courage, they were equal; but the fortitude of Russell, who was connected with the world by private and domestic ties which Sidney had not, was put to the severer trial: and the story of the last days of this excellent man's life fills the mind with such a mixture of tenderness and admiration, that I know not any scene in history which more powerfully excites our sympathy, or goes more directly to the heart."

Sidney left behind him, 'Discourses upon Government.' \*

\* Of these the first edition was published in folio, in 1698, by Toland, who first printed also Milton's and Harrington's prose works; and the second in 1704: to the latter was added the paper, which he delivered to the Sheriffs. But the best edition was published in quarto, in 1772, at the expense of the late Thomas Hollis, Esq. This edition, revised, corrected, and much improved by the Rev. John Robertson, contains likewise his letters and trial, with some Memoirs of his Life. Several of his letters, also, are inserted in the Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney Family, published by Collins; though he himself observes, that 'he believed he had burned more papers of his own writing than a horse could carry.' An Essay on Love was printed in the same collection. Mr. Hollis, likewise, published an edition of his Trial, in 1763.

From the Memoirs of the last-named gentleman it appears, that in 1760 upon a visit to the Speaker of the House of Commons (Onslow) he was informed by him, of "an anecdote redounding greatly to the honour of that noble patriot;" which



In the second volume of Sir John Dalrymple's 'Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,' published in 1772, it is alleged that Lord Russel intrigued with the Court of Versailles, and that Algernon Sidney accepted money from it. The papers upon which these charges are grounded, we are informed by Sir John Dalrymple, are to be found in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères* at Versailles, and were written by M. Barillon, French Ambassador in England in the reign of Charles II. In 1773, was published, by Dr. Towers, 'An Examination into the Nature and Evidence of these Charges;' in which the author remarks that, "Russel and Sidney were condemned in their own time without law, and without justice. Let not posterity (he adds) condemn them, but on

shall be 'inserted (he adds) in the new intended edition of his Discourses on Government.' As no such anecdote is specified, upon that high authority, in the work mentioned, it is left to conjecture to determine which it was; and the compiler of Hollis' Memoirs conjectures it to have been that part of Mr. Pelham's speech in the proceedings against Sir John Fenwick, in which he characterises Sidney as a man 'so truly attached to liberty and the good of his country, that he would not have pleaded the insufficiency of one witness to condemn him, even to save his life, if he had thought it inconsistent with the law either of God, or of man.' Onslow once declared, in conversation with a friend, that "there was some little colour of law in Lord Russel's trial, but Algernon Sidney was absolutely murdered." This, however, seems to have been a distinction founded upon the more decent deportment of the judge (Pemberton) by whom Russel was tried, and who was less of a brute than Jeffries, rather than any radical difference in the cases themselves: as Sir John Hawles, Solicitor General, who accurately examined the circumstances of both, affirms that, in both, 'the law, as well as the evidence, was made upon the spot!'

the fullest evidence." Of the authenticity of the papers upon which the charges are grounded, he contends, no proper evidence has yet been produced; and even admitting the whole of what is stated in Dalrymple's papers to be true, Russel in particular does not appear to have consulted any private views in his negotiation with the French minister, or to have promoted any measures which he considered as detrimental to the interests of his country. "This young nobleman (he farther subjoins) was not more distinguished by his noble birth, than by his many amiable qualities and the excellency of his character. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, and a tender parent; generally beloved and esteemed for his benevolence, integrity, and honour; and, indeed, his personal virtues were acknowledged even by his enemies. His noble birth and the amiableness of his character, together with his zeal for the cause of public freedom, placed him at the head of the Whig-interest in the House of Commons; and, in this capacity, he discovered the most extreme solicitude for the religion and liberties of his country, at a time when they were exposed to attacks of the most dangerous and alarming nature." Sidney (he observes) "was a man of fine genius, studious and learned, and of elevated sentiments, and ever animated by a generous ardor in defence of the liberties of his country and the common rights of mankind. One of the most remarkable features in his character was a nobleness and dignity of soul, which appeared so strongly in his actions and in his writings, as to render it impossible for us to believe, but upon the fullest and most certain evidence, that any tempta-

tion could prevail on him to act in a dishonourable or unworthy manner. His high spirit appears even in his letters to his father the Earl of Leicester, who sometimes censured him for his imprudence, in avowing his sentiments with an openness and freedom that were manifestly prejudicial to him. But he had a soul above disguise, and superior to the little arts of interested men.

“ Shall we hastily believe of the man capable of these sentiments, and the general tenor of whose life appears to have corresponded with them, that he could be prevailed upon to take money from the court of France for an unworthy purpose; when the inflexibility of his spirit, in matters in which he believed himself to be right, would not suffer him meanly to supplicate even his own father for money, or in the least to recede from his principles, though reduced to the greatest straits and in a foreign country? ”

Neither does Sidney appear to have engaged in any transactions unfavourable to the liberties of his country. After the time in which the money is said to have been paid to him, Barillon observes, in one of his despatches to his court, “ The Sieur Algernon Sidney is a man of great views, and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic.”

These two illustrious characters were, also, ably defended against the same accusations in ‘ an Introduction to the Letters of Lady Russel,’ published in 1778.

## EXTRACTS.

*A Letter to a Friend.*

SIR,

I am sorry I cannot, in all things, conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the Act of Indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment and choice. I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty, which we hoped to establish, oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in it's height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God by our hands would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery—what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see, that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of

them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no; better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or at least not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. . . . I have in my life been guilty of many follies; *but*, as I think, *of no meanness*. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shows me the time is come wherein I should resign it: and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shows me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man and a few of his followers: let them rejoice in their subtilty, who by betraying the former powers have gained the favour of this, and not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find the King's glory is their shame, his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office or a little money is a poor reward for destroying a nation, *which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world*; and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery, a dear price paid for that which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is

accompanied with it. The honour of English parliaments have ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it to satisfy the lusts of one man. Miserable nation! that from so great a height of glory is fallen into the most despicable condition in the world; of having all it's good depending upon the breath and will of the vilest persons in it! cheated and sold by them they trusted! infamous traffic, equal almost in guilt to that of Judas! In all preceding ages, parliaments have been the palace of our liberty, the sure defenders of the oppressed: they who formerly could bridle Kings, and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become instruments of all our oppressions, and a sword in his hand to destroy us; they themselves led by a few interested persons, who are willing to buy offices for themselves by the misery of the whole nation, and the blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it. Detestable bribes, worse than the oaths now in fashion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe neither my life, nor liberty, to any such means. When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be overpassed. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Hasebriggs cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their example in suffering, as I have been their companion in acting. I am most in amaze at the mistaken informations, that were sent to me by my friends, full of expectations of favours and employments. Who can

think that they who imprison them would employ me, or suffer me to live when they are put to death? If I might live and be employed, can it be expected that I should serve a government, that seeks such detestable ways of establishing itself? Ah! no; I have not learnt to make my own peace by persecuting and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, and serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the King shall govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I found those, that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies: the fraudulent proclamation for Indemnity increased them: the imprisoning of those three men, and turning out of all the officers of the army, contrary to promise, confirmed me in my resolutions not to return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered; but God, in his time, will have mercy on his people. He will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those who shall now perish, upon the heaps of those, who in their pride think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those, whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work! If I can live to see that day, I shall be ripe for the grave, and able to say with joy, "*Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.*" Farewell. My thoughts as to King and State depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his

glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant in all occasions, and to you a most affectionate friend.'

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*From 'Discourses concerning Government.'*

—'The weakness, in which we are born, renders us unable to attain the good of ourselves: we want help in all things, especially in the greatest. The fierce barbarity of a loose multitude, bound by no law and regulated by no discipline, is wholly repugnant to it: whilst every man fears his neighbour, and has no other defence than his own strength, he must live in that perpetual anxiety, which is equally contrary to that happiness and that sedate temper of mind which is required for the search of it. The first step toward the cure of this pestilent evil is for many to join in one body, that every one may be protected by the united force of all: and the various talents, that men possess, may by good discipline be rendered useful to the whole; as the meanest piece of wood or stone, being placed by a wise architect, conduces to the beauty of the most glorious building. But every man bearing in his own breast affections, passions, and vices, that are repugnant to this end, and no man owing any submission to his neighbour; none will subject the correction or restriction of themselves to another, unless he also submit to the same rule. They are rough pieces of timber or stone, which it is necessary to cleave, saw, or cut: this is the work of a skilful builder: and he only is



capable of erecting a great fabric, who is so. Magistrates are political architects; and they only can perform the work incumbent on them, who excel in political virtues. Nature, in variously framing the minds of men, according to the variety of uses in which they may be employed in order to the institution and preservation of civil societies, must be our guide in allotting to every one his proper work. And Plato, observing this variety, affirms, 'That the laws of nature cannot be more absurdly violated, than by giving the government of a people to such as do not excel others in those arts and virtues, that tend to the ultimate ends for which governments are instituted.' By these means those who are slaves by nature, or rendered so by their vices, are often set above those, that God and nature had fitted for the highest commands; and societies which subsist only by order fall into corruption, when all order is so preposterously inverted, and the most extreme confusion introduced. This is an evil, that Solomon detested: *Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places; I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.* They, who understand Solomon's language, will easily see that the rich and the princes he means are such only who are rich in virtue and wisdom, and who ought to be preferred for those qualities: and when he says, 'a servant that reigneth is one of the three things the earth cannot bear,' he can only mean such as deserve to be servants. For when they reign, they do not serve, but are served by others; which perfectly agrees with what we learn from Plato, and plainly shows, that true philosophy is perfectly conformable with what is taught us by

those who were divinely inspired. Therefore, though I should allow to our author that Aristotle in those words, 'It seems to some, not to be natural for one man to be lord of all the citizens, since the city consists of equals,' did speak the opinion of others rather than his own, and should confess that he and his master Plato did acknowledge a natural inequality among men, it would be nothing to his purpose: for the inequality, and the rational superiority due to some or to one by reason of that inequality, did not proceed from blood or extraction, and had nothing patriarchal in it; but consisted solely in the virtues of the persons, by which they were rendered more able than others to perform their duty for the good of the society. Therefore, if these authors are to be trusted, whatsoever place a man is advanced to in a city, it is not for his own sake, but for that of the city; and we are not to ask, Who was his father? but What are his virtues in relation to it? This induces a necessity of distinguishing between a simple, and a relative, inequality; for if it were possible for a man to have great virtues, and yet no way beneficial to the society of which he is, or to have some one vice that renders them useless, he could have no pretence to magistratical power more than any other. They, who are equally free, may equally enjoy their freedom; but the powers that can only be executed by such as are endowed with great wisdom, justice, and valour, can belong to none, nor be rightly conferred upon any, except such as excel in those virtues. And if no such can be found, all are equally by turns to participate of the honours annexed to magistracy; and law, which is said to be 'written reason,' cannot justly exalt those whom nature, which is

reason, hath depressed, nor depress those whom nature hath exalted. It cannot make kings slaves, nor slaves kings, without introducing that which, if we believe Solomon and the Spirit by which he spake, *the earth cannot bear*. This may discover, what Lawgivers deserve to be reputed wise or just, and what decrees or sanctions ought to be reputed Laws. Aristotle, proceeding by this rule, rather tells us who is naturally a king, than where we should find him; and after having given the highest praises to this true natural king and his government, he sticks not to declare that of one man, in virtue equal or inferior to others, to be a mere tyranny, even the worst of all, as it is the corruption of the best (or, as our author calls it, 'the most divine') and such as can be fit only for those barbarous and stupid nations which, though bearing the shape of men, are little different from beasts. Whoever therefore will from Aristotle's words infer, that nature has designed one man, or succession of men, to be lords of every country, must show that man to be endowed with all the virtues that render him fit for so great an office, which he does not bear for his own pleasure, glory, or profit, but for the good of those that are under him; and, if that be not done, he must look after other patrons than Aristotle for his opinion.

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— Men are valiant and industrious, when they fight for themselves and their country: they prove excellent in all the arts of war and peace, when they are bred up in virtuous exercises, and taught by their fathers and masters to rejoice in the honours gained by them: they love their country, when the good of

every particular man is comprehended in the public prosperity, and the success of their achievements is improved to the general advantage: they undertake hazards and labour for the government, when it is justly administered; when innocence is safe, and virtue honoured; when no man is distinguished from the vulgar, but such as have distinguished themselves by the bravery of their actions; when no honour is thought too great for those, who do it eminently, unless it be such as cannot be communicated to others of equal merit: they do not spare their persons, purses, or friends, when the public powers are employed for the public benefit, and imprint the like affections in their children from their infancy. The discipline of obedience, in which the Romans were bred, taught them to command; and few were admitted to the magistracies of inferior rank, till they had given such proof of their virtue as might deserve the supreme. Cincinnatus, Camillus, Papyrius, Mamercus, Fabius Maximus were not made dictators, that they might learn the duties of the office; but because they were judged to be of such wisdom, valour, integrity, and experience, that they might be safely trusted with the highest powers: and, whilst the law reigned, not one was advanced to that honour, who did not fully answer what was expected from him. By this means the city was so replenished with men fit for the greatest employments, that even in it's infancy, when three hundred and six of the Fabii (*quorum neminem, says Livy, ducem sperneret quibuslibet temporibus senatus*) were killed in one day, the city did lament the loss, but was not so weakened to give any advantage to their enemies: and when every one of those who had been eminent

before the second Punic war, Fabius Maximus only excepted, had perished in it, others arose in their places, who surpassed them in number and were equal to them in virtue. The city was a perpetual spring of such men, as long as liberty lasted: but that was no sooner overthrown, than virtue was torn up by the roots; the people became base and sordid; the small remains of the nobility slothful and effeminate; and their Italian associates becoming like to them, the empire, whilst it stood, was only sustained by the strength of foreigners.

‘ The Grecian virtue had the same fate, and expired with liberty. Instead of such soldiers as in their time had no equals, and such generals of armies and fleets, legislators and governors, as all succeeding ages have justly admired, they sent out swarms of fiddlers, jesters, chariot-drivers, players, bawds, flatterers, ministers of the most impure lusts; or idle, babbling, hypocritical philosophers, not much better than they. The emperor’s courts were always crowded with this vermin: and notwithstanding the necessity our author imagines, that princes must needs understand matters of government better than magistrates annually chosen, they did for the most part prove so brutish, as to give themselves and the world to be governed by such as these; and that without any great prejudice, since none could be found more ignorant, lewd, and base than themselves.

‘ It is absurd to impute this to the change of times: for time changes nothing; and nothing was changed in those times but the government, and that changed all things. This is not accidental, but according to the rules given to nature by God, im-

posing upon all things a necessity of perpetually following their causes. Fruits are always of the same nature with the seeds and roots, from which they come, and trees are known by the fruits they bear; as a man begets a man, and a beast a beast. That society of men, which constitutes a government upon the foundation of justice, virtue, and the common good, will always have men to promote those ends; and that, which intends the advancement of one man's desires and vanity, will abound in those that will foment them. All men follow that, which seems advantageous to themselves. Such as are bred under a good discipline, and see that all benefits, procured to their country by virtuous actions, redound to the honour and advantage of themselves, their children, friends, and relations, contract from their infancy a love to the public, and look upon the common concerns as their own. When they have learnt to be virtuous, and see that virtue is in esteem, they seek no other preferments than such as may be obtained that way; and no country ever wanted great numbers of excellent men, where this method was established. On the other side, when it is evident that the best are despised, hated, or marked out for destruction; all things calculated to the honour or advantage of one man, who is often the worst, or governed by the worst; honours, riches, commands, and dignities disposed by his will, and his favour gained only by a most obsequious respect or a pretended affection to his person, together with a servile obedience to his commands—all application to virtuous actions will cease; and no man caring to render himself or his children worthy of great employments, such as desire to have them will by little

intrigues, corruption, scurrility, and flattery endeavour to make way to them: by which means true merit in a short time comes to be abolished, as fell out in Rome as soon as the Cæsars began to reign.'

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— Our author's (Filmer's) cavils concerning I know not what vulgar opinions, that 'democracies were introduced to curb tyranny,' deserve no answer: for our question is, whether one form of government be prescribed to us by God and nature, or we are left according to our own understanding to constitute such as seem best to ourselves. As for democracy, he may say what he pleases of it; and I believe it can suit only with the convenience of a small town, accompanied with such circumstances as are seldom found. But this no way obliges men to run into the other extreme, inasmuch as the variety of forms between mere democracy and absolute monarchy is almost infinite. And if I should undertake to say, there never was a good government in the world, that did not consist of the three simple species of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, I think I might make it good. This at the least is certain, that the government of the Hebrews, instituted by God, had a judge, the great sanhedrim, and general assemblies of the people. Sparta had two kings, a senate of twenty eight chosen men, and the like assemblies. All the Dorian cities had a chief magistrate, a senate, and occasional assemblies. The cities of Ionia, Athens, and others, had an archon, the *Arcopagitæ*, &c., and all judgements concerning matters of the greatest importance, as well as the election of kings and judgements upon appeals, remained in the people: afterward consuls representing kings, and vested

with equal power, a more numerous senate, and more frequent meetings of the people. Venice has at this day a duke, the senate of the *Pregadi*, and the great assembly of the nobility, which is the whole city; the rest of the inhabitants being only "*incolæ*," not "*cives*;" and those of the other cities or countries are their subjects, and do not participate of the government. Genoa is governed in like manner; Lucca not unlike to them. Germany is at this day governed by an emperor, the princes or great lords in their several precincts; the cities by their own magistrates, and by general Diets in which the whole power of the nation resides, and where the emperor, princes, nobility, and cities have their places in person, or by their deputies. All the northern nations, which, upon the dissolution of the Roman empire possessed the best provinces that had composed it, were under that form which is usually called the Gothic polity. They had king, lords, commons, diets, assemblies of states, cortes, and parliaments, in which the sovereign powers of those nations did reside, and by which they were exercised. The like was practised in Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, Poland. And if things are changed in some of those places within these few years, they must give better proofs of having gained by the change, than are yet seen in the world, before I think myself obliged to change my opinion.

‘ Some nations, not liking the name of ‘ king,’ have given such a power as kings enjoyed in other places to one or more magistrates, either limited to a certain time, or left to be perpetual, as best pleased themselves: others, approving the name, made the dignity purely elective. Some have in their elections



principally regarded one family, as long as it lasted: others considered nothing but the fitness of the person, and reserved to themselves a liberty of taking where they pleased. Some have permitted the crown to be hereditary, as to it's ordinary course; but restrained the power, and instituted officers to inspect the proceedings of kings, and to take care that the laws were not violated. Of this sort were the *Ephori* of Sparta, the *Maire du Palais* and afterward the *Constable* of France, the *Justiciar* \* in Arragon, the *Reichs Hofmeister* in Denmark, † the High Steward in England: and, in all places, such assemblies as are before mentioned under several names, who had the power of the whole nation. Some have continued long, and it may be always in the same form; others have changed it. Some being incensed against their kings, as the Romans exasperated by the villainies of Tarquin, and the Tuscans by the cruelties of Mezentius, abolished the name of 'king.' Others, as Athens, Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, Thebes, and the Latins, did not stay for such extremities, but set up other governments when they thought it best for themselves; and by this conduct prevented the evils that usually fall upon nations, when their kings degenerate into tyrants, and a nation is brought to enter

\* See Heyl. Cosm. p. 288.

† Count Uhlefeld was Reichs Hofmeister, or Lord High Steward of the kingdom of Denmark, about the middle of last century. In the year 1651, he was displaced for treasonable practices, and Joachim Gerstorf, another nobleman and senator, appointed in his room. He continued in this important office till the memorable revolution, which happened in Denmark in the year 1660; when the kingdom was changed from an estate, little differing from aristocracy, to an absolute monarchy, and the office of Reichs Hofmeister ceased of course.

into a war by which all may be lost, and nothing can be gained which was not their own before. The Romans took not this salutary course; the mischief was grown up before they perceived, or set themselves against it. And when the effects of pride, avarice, cruelty, and lust were grown to such a height, that they could no longer be endured, they could not free themselves without a war. And whereas upon other occasions their victories had brought them increase of strength, territory, and glory, the only reward of their virtue in this was, to be delivered from a plague they had unadvisedly suffered to grow up among them. I confess, this was most of all to be esteemed: for if they had been overthrown, their condition under Tarquin would have been more intolerable, than if they had fallen under the power of Pyrrhus or Annibal, and all their following prosperity was the fruit of their recovered liberty. But it had been much better to have reformed the state after the death of one of their good kings, than to be brought to fight for their lives against that abominable tyrant. Our author, in pursuance of his aversion to all that is good, disapproves this; and wanting reasons to justify his dislike, according to the custom of impostors and cheats, has recourse to the ugly term of a ‘back-door, sedition, and faction:’ as if it were not as just for a people to lay aside their kings, when they receive nothing but evil, and can rationally hope for no benefit by them, as for others to set them up in expectation of good from them. But if the truth be examined, nothing will be found more orderly than the changes of government, or of the persons and races of those that governed, which have been made by many nations.

When Pharamond's grandson seemed not to deserve the crown he had worn, the French gave it to Meroveus, who more resembled him in virtue. In process of time, when this race also degenerated, they were rejected, and Pepin advanced to the throne: and the most remote in blood of his descendents having often been preferred before the nearest, and bastards before the legitimate issue, they were at last all laid aside; and the crown remains to this day in the family of Hugh Capet, on whom it was bestowed upon the rejection of Charles of Lorraine. In like manner the Castilians took Don Sancho, surnamed the Brave, second son to Alphonso the Wise, before Alphonso el Desheredado, son of the elder brother Ferdinand. The states of Arragon preferred Martin, brother to John I., before Mary his daughter married to the Count de Foix, though females were not excluded from the succession: and the house of Austria now enjoys that crown from Joan daughter to Ferdinand. In that and many other kingdoms, bastards have been advanced before their legitimate brothers. Henry Count of Trastamara, bastard to Alphonso XI. King of Castile, received the crown, as a reward of the good service he had done to his country against his brother Peter the Cruel, without any regard had to the house of La Cerda descended from Alphonso el Desheredado, which to this day never enjoyed any greater honour than that of Duke de Medina Celi. Not long afterward the Portuguese, conceiving a dislike of their King Ferdinand and his daughter married to John King of Castile, rejected her and her uncle by the father's side, and gave the crown to John, a knight of Calatrava and bastard to an uncle of Ferdinand their King. About the be-

ginning of this age the Swedes deposed their King Sigismund for being a papist, and made Charles his uncle King. Divers examples, of the like nature, in England have been already mentioned. All these transportations of crowns were acts performed by assemblies of the three estates in the several kingdoms; and these crowns are to this day enjoyed under titles derived from such, as were thus brought in by the deposition or rejection of those, who according to descent of blood had better titles than the present possessors. The acts, therefore, were lawful and good, or they can have no title at all; and they, who made them, had a just power so to do.

If our author can draw any advantage from the resemblance of regality that he finds in the Roman consuls, and Athenian archons, I shall without envy leave him the enjoyment of it; but I am much mistaken, if that do not prove my assertion, that those governments "were composed of the three simple species." For if the monarchical part was in them, it cannot be denied that the aristocratical was in the senate, or *Areopagita*, and the democratical in the people. But he ought to have remembered, that if there was something of monarchical in those governments, when they are said to have been popular, there was something of aristocratical and democratical in those that were called regal; which justifies my proposition on both sides, and shows, that the denomination was taken from the part that prevailed. And if this were not so, the governments of France, Spain, and Germany might be called 'democracies,' and those of Rome and Athens 'monarchies;' because the people have a part in the one, and an image of monarchy was preserved in the other.

‘ If our author will not allow the cases to be altogether equal, I think he will find no other difference, than that the consuls and archons were regularly made by the votes of the consenting people, and orderly resigned their power, when the time was expired for which it was given. Whereas Tarquin, Dionysius, Agathocles, Nabis, Phalaris, Cæsar, and almost all his successors, whom he takes for complete monarchs, came in by violence, fraud, and corruption, by the help of the worst men, by the slaughter of the best, and most commonly (when the method was once established) by that of their predecessors, who, if our author say true, were ‘ fathers of their country !’ This was the root and foundation of the only government, that deserves praise. This is that which stamped the divine character upon Agathocles, Dionysius, and Cæsar, and that had bestowed the same upon Manlius, Marius, or Catiline, if they had gained the monarchies they affected. But I suppose that such as God has blessed with better judgement, and a due regard to justice and truth, will say that ‘ all those, who have attained to such greatness, as destroys all manner of good in the places where they have set up themselves by the most detestable villainies, came in by a “ back-door ;” and that such magistrates, as were orderly chosen by a willing people, were the true shepherds, who came in by the gate of the sheepfold, and might justly be called the ministers of God, so long as they performed their duty in providing for the good of the nations committed to their charge.’

**JAMES BUTLER,**  
**DUKE OF ORMOND.\***

[1610—1686.]

**JAMES BUTLER**, the seventh Earl and first Duke of Ormond, was born in 1610, and at the age of three years was carried over to Ireland. His father Viscount Thurles, being drowned in 1619, in his passage to England, he returned with his mother (Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz) from Ireland, and in the following year resided for a short time with a Popish schoolmaster; who educated him in the errors of the Romish Church, till he was placed by King James, as a ward of the crown, in the house of Archbishop Abbot: his Majesty, though he had at that time seized upon his grandfather's estate, granting him only 40*l.* *per ann.* for the support of himself and his servant, and making the Primate no allowance for his maintenance or education.

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Rapin's *History of England*, Salmon's *Chronological Historian*, Leland's *History of Ireland*, Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, and *Biographia Britannica*.

By Abbot he is said to have been first instructed in the principles of Protestantism, to which he adhered till his death.

At sixteen, he quitted Lambeth for the roof of his grandfather, who with his liberty had recovered a considerable part of his property; and, being no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the ordinary amusements of his age. Among these, he was more particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; so that several of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance. In his diversions, however, he did not lose a due regard to the reparation of his fortune; for the estate of his relation Lord Preston, which had been violently rent from the House of Ormond, having devolved to an heiress, he married her in 1630, and thus terminated the family-feud.

About two years afterward by his grandfather's death he became Earl of Ormond, and being naturally of an enterprising character (under the countenance of the Earl of Strafford, then Lord Deputy of Ireland) immediately engaged in public affairs. This countenance originated in a very singular occurrence. Animosities in the Irish parliament had risen so high, that it was feared their debates would terminate in blood; upon which Strafford published a Proclamation, forbidding any man to sit in either House with his sword. These weapons, therefore, were delivered by them on entering to the Usher of the Black Rod, who stood ready to receive them. The Earl of Ormond, however, refused to surrender his; and when the Usher, with some rudeness, enforced his demand, replied, 'If he had it, it should be in his body.' Upon this, the Deputy inquired the reason of

his disobedience ; and received in answer the writ, by which he was summoned, as Earl of Ormond, to sit in parliament girded with a sword. Henceforward, his Excellency held him in particular esteem ; and on returning to England, recommended him to the Privy Council as one likely to prove an able servant of the Crown.

In 1640, when it was deemed necessary to raise troops in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and ascertaining their maintenance from the parliamentary funds, was reposed in the Earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendezvoused at Carrickfergus, and thence to have been transported to Scotland ; but the pacification, which soon afterward ensued, superseded the execution of the design.

In 1641 broke out the Irish rebellion, an insurrection rendered memorable by the cruelty, which for many years desolated that unhappy country. Its most furious leader was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who opened the horrid scene by seizing the castle of Charlemont, a very important fort upon the Pass of Blackwater.

The perfidy, with which he transacted this part of his scheme, was a natural prelude to his subsequent barbarities. He sent word to Lord Charlemont, the governor, that 'he would that day be his guest ;' and an entertainment was accordingly provided, to which (as was not uncommon in those times) great numbers resorted, as to a general festival. His Lordship had one company of soldiers in his garrison ; but they not suspecting danger, and being fully disposed to participate in the general merriment, laid aside their arms and mingled with the company. The table was spread, and all was feasting and jollity till



toward evening ; when Sir Phelim, finding his accomplices entered and every danger of resistance removed, seized Lord Charlemont and his family, while his followers murdered or secured the soldiers, and took possession of the castle.

On the same day, many other chieftains raised their septs, and endeavoured with various success to take possession of the towns in their neighbourhood. They now grew rapidly stronger, as they were absolute masters of the open country, and had therefore sufficient means to secure the aid of the needy peasantry. The whole district of Cavan was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and seven others by other leaders, in the first week ; and Sir Phelim O'Neil had collected, within the same short interval, a body of nearly thirty thousand men : a sufficient proof of the intention of the Irish to rebel. But is it not, likewise, a sufficient proof that they had received proportional provocation ; and that the English had forgotten the courtesy, with which disputed titles ought ever to be enjoyed ?

The followers of O'Neil had, obviously, soon learnt to take pleasure in blood : and so much had he heightened their ferocity, that if they happened to have no prisoners to destroy, they would amuse themselves with seizing the cattle for the mere purposes of torture ; cutting off the legs of sheep or oxen, and leaving them to expire in lingering agonies. This savage tendency their leader encouraged by his own example ; always breaking out, whenever he was accidentally discomposed, in some horrible and useless act of cruelty. At one time, he ordered his noble prisoner Lord Charlemont to be shot ; at another, he massacred great numbers, to whom he had himself

promised quarter: in short, he every day invented or exercised new forms of barbarity.\*

It was upon this occasion, that the Earl of Ormond received his first military appointment from Charles I. in an affectionate letter (dated Edinburgh, October 1641) desiring him to take upon him the command of the army, as Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces in Ireland.

In consequence of this commission, he served his Sovereign with all the zeal which bravery and fidelity could inspire; though not with the success which might have been expected, had he been at liberty to form his own measures, and to improve those occasional advantages, which the delays of the Lords Justices frequently compelled him to forego. In the mean time, he was compelled to struggle with numberless calumnies, which his loyalty probably drew upon him; for at this time the prevailing party in England began to charge the King, among other attempts against the constitution and the religion of the realm, with the crime of having encouraged the Irish Rebellion. Having defeated the rebels however at Kilrush, and distinguished himself by many other achievements, his Majesty whose affairs were in such a situation that he had nothing but honours to bestow, in 1642 created him Marquis of Ormond.

About the same time, the decision of a dispute be-

\* The accounts, however, which have been generally propagated of this horrid massacre, are in many circumstances very remote from truth. It is asserted, that 'at least 150,000 English were destroyed;' and, to aggravate the horror, it is added that 'they were all butchered in one day!' But it is certain, that there was no particular day appointed for this national carnage; and it is highly probable, that the numbers massacred did not exceed one fourth of the number specified.

tween him and the Earl of Leicester (then Lord Lieutenant) authorised him, in the absence of that functionary, to dispose of such posts as should become vacant in the army. But this new dignity, with all its influence, conferred no real strength; and he was only exposed to the mortification of seeing himself unable to display his gratitude to his royal master by any important service. Some forces were, indeed, despatched to his assistance; but under commanders, who rather prevented than promoted the suppression of the rebels by their indiscriminate pillage, unrelenting severity, and ungovernable insubordination.

In the spring of the year 1643, an expedition was projected for the conquest of Ross and Wexford. Of these, Ormond would soon have been able to take the first, at that time but weakly garrisoned, had not the Justices neglected to send him both ammunition and victuals for his soldiers. Under these circumstances, it was judged necessary, by counterfeiting a retreat, to induce the enemy to sally out, and come to an engagement. The stratagem succeeded: the rebel army was defeated; and the Marquis, gaining possession of the open country, supplied his troops for a short time with abundant provisions.

When these were exhausted, however, they were compelled to break up and return to Dublin, where they were again to represent, to remonstrate, to petition, and to starve. The Justices were unwilling, that the King should receive any correct information of the state of the nation, or of the army: Ormond therefore, who was not equally inclined to make his Sovereign contemptible, despatched without their concurrence a narrative concerted between himself and several of the Privy Council.

This, with other accounts to the same purport, produced such an effect, that the Lord Justice, Sir William Parsons, was at length removed from his office. But the change of one of the Governors, though it relieved the Marquis from some of his embarrassments, contributed very little to the support of his army, whose necessities grew daily more pressing, as the Papists were constantly extending their quarters in all directions.

Under these circumstances, it was at length judged expedient to propose on the part of his Majesty a cessation of arms; and accordingly a commission to treat was transmitted to the General, which though he highly approved of the measure, he knew not how to set on foot without disgrace to his employer.

For the King's honour it was necessary, that the first overture should be made by the rebels; and it was likewise proper, that the Council should solemnly avow their conviction of the impracticability of establishing peace by any other means. In order to procure overtures from the Irish, agents were employed, who after long deliberation prevailed upon them to propose a cessation for twelve months; and to deprive the Justices of any pretext, that the negotiation had been set on foot either without their concurrence or in opposition to their advice, the Marquis demanded in full council, 'Whether any man could suggest a proposal more honourable for his Majesty, or more advantageous to the State, than that of a cessation?' Still farther, to prevent any observations to the discredit of his courage or of his loyalty, he declared, 'That if the Justices and Council, who were best acquainted with the condition of the public finances, could procure only 10,000*l*. (half in money,

and half in ammunition and provisions) he would continue to prosecute the war with all his power.'

Upon this, the Mayor of Dublin and some of the most wealthy citizens, who had been summoned to attend, avowed their opinion, that 'from the exhausted state of the country no such levy could be made.' The Marquis was, therefore, at full liberty to pursue his own measures: but the rebels, fully sensible of their superiority, were not easily to be persuaded to favourable terms.

About this time, likewise, arrived a Commissioner from the Pope, with a supply of money and with stores of war. These added great weight to the influence, which his Holiness exerted in opposing the cessation: but there were in the Popish army men of rank and reputation, who still retained a feeling of duty toward the King, and who ardently wished to put a stop to the desolations of their country. These persons earnestly supported the measure, and by their means it was at last adopted.

The Articles, indeed, were not ratified till September; and, during the interval, the Irish had not only gathered in their own harvest, but had frequently ventured by night into the English quarters, and carried off theirs. The delay however was unavoidable, where so many persons of different interests, opinions, and inclinations were to be consulted.

This cessation, while it broke the union and relaxed the ardor of the Papists, was pronounced by Ormond's enemies an unseasonable concession; and loud clamors were raised, as if the Protestant interest had been betrayed. But these complaints had no weight with his Majesty. On the other hand, the influence, fidelity, and diligence of

the Marquis became so conspicuous, that he soon afterward received the sword of state, as Lieutenant of Ireland. But the disorders of that unhappy kingdom had proceeded too far, to yield to a government which was without force to support itself; which only a very small district professed to obey; and which possessed no advantage, except that of its legality.

To endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompensing any, and to command without the power of compulsion, were arduous functions. There were few, who thought their duty of so much importance, as to be preferable to their interest; and many, even of those who were naturally inclined to the right, in the distraction of opposite motives were unable correctly to determine their own choice. In the midst of these perplexities, it was expected that he should send some assistance to the Royalists: but armies could not be enlisted, nor transported, without pay or provision; and he was unprovided with both.

The Irish during the cessation, by which some desires of a permanent peace could not but be excited, despatched commissioners to Oxford, to treat with the King. These, having first proposed conditions which could not without reproach be granted, in a few days moderated their demands; insisting chiefly on the abrogation of the penal laws against recusants, the right of enjoying posts and offices in the government, the exclusion from parliament of all persons who had not property within the island, and a general act of oblivion which should secure both the persons and the estates of those to whom it applied.

To these were added other propositions, less important in their object, or less extensive in their con-

sequences : upon which, the treaty was wholly referred to the Marquis of Ormond, as one by long intercourse acquainted with the condition of Ireland, and by personal influence enabled to apply himself most effectively to the particular prejudices and designs of the rebel Commissioners. He entreated leave, however, to resign his office to some other person, whose shoulders were more competent to the burthen. But before any answer could arrive to his request, the peace was concluded, without any concessions disadvantageous to the Protestant religion, or derogatory from the royal honour. Upon this, the Marquis set out on a progress through the remoter parts of the island. He had not gone far, before he received intelligence of a design laid by O'Neil and Preston to surprise him, and to force him to consent to new and less favourable terms. He, therefore, returned to Dublin with the utmost expedition.

The Pope's nuncio now found himself master of the field ; and that his designs might no longer be obstructed, he led his army to Kilkenny, and imprisoned the Supreme Council, which he had found indisposed to comply with his proposals. He next summoned an assembly of the clergy, invested them with the public authority, and assumed the unlimited direction of temporal as well as spiritual affairs. The Papists, rendered insolent by their successes, with the view of putting an end to the Lieutenant's dignity, ordered their forces to besiege Dublin. This city, notwithstanding some appearances of dissension between O'Neil and Preston, Ormond had strengthened and provisioned as well as he could ; the Marchioness and other ladies, with a view of

encouraging the workmen, having carried baskets of mould to form the trenches. But, though fortifications might be built, victuals could not be procured in an exhausted country. His enemies therefore, who were well acquainted with his distresses, had only to prevent the importation of supplies : in consequence of which he must have submitted at discretion, had he not delivered up both the city and his commission \* to the parliamentary deputies and the army, to whom his royal master had desired they might be resigned rather than to the Irish. On the admission of the new garrison, the confederate Irish returned into the country, where it was now become necessary for them to unite against a more potent enemy.

Ormond's adherents were equally hated and suspected on every side. Forlorn however as his condition was, when he left Dublin he could not forbear declaring, with the cheerfulness which usually accompanies great minds, ' That he expected to return thither in a state of prosperity ;' though the troops of Charles were at that time subdued, his garrisons surrendered, and he himself in the hands of his most implacable enemies.

The Marquis nevertheless, whose attachment did not depend upon fortune, immediately on his arrival in England waited upon Charles at Hampton Court. Here he was admitted to that confidence, which fidelity so long tried might justly expect ; and upon offering to resign the Lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect so little, was answered that ' he must keep his commission to a time of better fortune ; for that no other should supersede him in a

\* In July, 1647.



station which he had filled so ably.' With all this kindness on the part of his King, he was by no means in a state of happiness or safety; being not only affected with a deep sympathy in the royal misfortunes, but likewise harassed himself with personal difficulties, arising from the debts which he had contracted for the public service. These indeed were so oppressive, as to furnish him with a plausible pretext for going off privately; though his real motives were an order from the Committee at Derby House, dated February 1648, requiring him to 'send them, upon his parole of honour and under his own hand, an assurance that he would not during his residence in England attempt any thing prejudicial to the parliamentary ascendancy.' He apprehended, also, that they only wanted a decent excuse to seize his person; and was informed, that 'a warrant had actually been issued for that purpose.'

It was prudent, therefore, to provide for his Sovereign's interests, by securing his own liberty; and he accordingly proceeded by the way of Hastings and Dieppe, to pay his respects to the Queen and the Prince at Paris, whence he corresponded with the Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick in Scotland by the means of Sir John Hamilton; while through the medium of Colonel Barry he kept up, in Ireland, the correspondence which he had previously settled with Lord Inchiquin.

He had not been long in the French capital before agents, deputed by the General Assembly to the Queen and the Prince, arrived from Ireland to suggest the necessity of a peace.

The Marquis' return to that kingdom being judged the only expedient which could be adopted to save it,

he became very importunate with the Court of Versailles for the necessary supplies; but he was so long put off, and at last so inadequately provided, that when he landed at Cork in September 1648,\* he had only thirty French pistoles in his military chest.

He had no authority indeed, except from the Queen and the Prince, to negotiate with his countrymen: but he procured a ratification of his stipulations from the King (then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight) accompanied by an injunction, to 'disobey all orders issued in the royal name so long as he remained under restraint.'

To confirm Ireland in his Majesty's favour, as the only visible means to save his life, was the only object of his return to that kingdom. With this view, he entered unassisted upon a treaty of peace with the Confederates, and after having surmounted many obstacles, brought it to a conclusion a few days before the death of Charles.

His next care was, to proclaim Charles II., in all the places which remained subject to his authority; after which he addressed a letter to the new King, then at the Hague, earnestly entreating him to 'strengthen his interest in Ireland by his presence.' With this request his Majesty was anxious to comply, and only determined to the contrary by the strenuous representations of the Commissioners delegated from the Scottish Convention, and by the deputies of the States, who warmly espoused their cause.

Thus left alone to struggle with innumerable difficulties, Ormond was not discouraged. His spirits, on the other hand, seemed to rise in proportion to

\* During the voyage, he incurred imminent danger of shipwreck.

the perplexities by which he was surrounded; for with a small army of doubtful attachment, without money or provisions, and at the same time advertised of a design against his life, he meditated the surprising of Dublin, and would have effected it, had others been equally vigilant and zealous in his Majesty's service. The taking of the capital would, undoubtedly, have involved the reduction of the whole island. But Cromwell himself reached Dublin at this juncture, with a powerful and well provided army, which compelled the Marquis to raise the siege.

His last effort was the calling of a general assembly at Lochreach, in which he announced his design of departing, and required them to 'deliberate upon the most probable means of preserving their native land from ruin.' After this he embarked for France, and landing at Perose in Basse Bretagne attended his Majesty at Paris, till the treaty between the Court of France and the English Protector rendered Charles' departure from that kingdom indispensable. During this period, he rescued the Duke of Gloucester out of the hands of the Queen-Mother, and prevented her severe treatment from inducing him to embrace the religion of the Church of Rome; transferred the Irish Catholic regiments from the service of France to that of Spain, and obtained the surrender of the town of Ghilan to the Spaniards. He, subsequently, accompanied Charles to Bruges in Flanders: and a negotiation being set on foot with the Spanish Monarch,\* in consequence of which it became necessary that some person of credit should be sent to England, to sound the disposition of the people upon the subject

\* Who was heavily offended by Cromwell's capture of Jamaica.

of the Restoration, he generously offered to go thither in disguise, either as a chief or as a subaltern; an offer, which his Majesty with some reluctance accepted. He was quickly convinced, however, on his arrival, that all hopes from the Cavaliers were built upon a sandy foundation.

Disgusted with the Spanish ministers, Charles soon afterward withdrew from Brussels to the Hague. And here the Marquis, to forward his Sovereign's interest, consented to a marriage between his son Thomas Earl of Ossory, and Emilia daughter of Lewis of Nassau Lord of Beverweert, natural son of Maurice Prince of Orange. He remained in Holland with the King, and attended him to England at the Restoration, when he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, made Lord Steward of the Household, Lord Lieutenant of Somersetshire, High Steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, and reinstated in his dignity of Chancellor of the University of Dublin. His Majesty, likewise, replaced in his hands the county of Tipperary, with the same privileges which his family had for some centuries enjoyed. He was, subsequently, created Earl of Brecknock and Baron of Lanthony in England, and by act of parliament restored to his whole estate.

Soon after the Restoration, he found means to render a considerable service to the English families settled in Ireland, by preventing the insertion of some clauses in the Act of Indemnity, which must have proved their ruin.

In March 1661, he was created Duke of Ormond; and being also, about the same time, made Lord High Steward of England, he assisted in that capacity at the coronation.

In the grand affair of the settlement of Ireland, he was inclined to show all possible favour to the natives. As they not only rejected his advice however, but traduced his character, he resolved to take no part in the business; neither did his name appear in any of the Committees to which it was referred, till after he became Lord Lieutenant in 1662. This employment he accepted, when it had been declined by the Duke of Albemarle on account of the jarring interests of the opposite parties. It was Ormond's entire submission to the royal will, which prevailed with him to undertake an office, of which he well foresaw the inconveniences; for speaking of it to a friend, he observed, "Beside many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me: one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection, than I can find myself chargeable with; and the others suspecting I retain that prejudice to them, which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamor and scandal, upon my most equal and wary deportment."

The news of his appointment, however, was received in Ireland with public rejoicings; and the parliament of that kingdom considering the great losses which he had sustained by his attachment to the crown, and the expense necessarily consequent upon the adequate maintenance of his high office, made him a present of thirty thousand pounds.

His departure for Ireland was deferred by the King's marriage to the beginning of July, when he set out from London. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had foretold was verified. Notwithstanding the strict

impartiality, with which he acted, clamors thickened round him on all sides; and not only his administration was rendered uneasy to him, but the course of his Majesty's affairs also met with serious interruption.

One of the first objects to which his Grace applied himself, was the purging of the army by disbanding the disaffected. As it was a service which admitted no delay, the Exchequer being empty, he paid their arrears out of his own pocket. He, likewise, patronised several very important and lasting national improvements; particularly with respect to the growth of flax, and the manufacture of linen.

The republican party in England, who were said to meditate a new Commonwealth, or at least some limitation of the regal authority, flattered themselves with the assistance of these forces, and with the concurrence of the presbyterians, whom the Act of Uniformity had converted into mal-contented. As many of the Irish also were, by the Court of Claims, to be repossessed of their estates, the soldiers-adventurers, fearful of being thrust out of their new grants, loudly clamored against the designs of government; and some of the more furious, resolving to keep by the sword what by the sword they had acquired, readily engaged with the disaffected.

An insurrection was intended, a conspiracy formed, and a private Committee\* appointed; but the whole affair was betrayed to the Duke. Notwithstanding this intelligence, however, Ormond owed his preservation to his own vigilance. The day fixed for

\* Blood, who subsequently stole the crown from the jewel-office in the Tower, was one of the rebel Committee.

surprising the castle was the tenth of March, of which he received notice. But the conspirators afterward changed it to the fifth: of this, his informer was ignorant; and nothing but his Grace's caution, of which the traitors had some information, prevented the attempt from being made.

His attachment to the Earl of Clarendon having involved him in the odium which pursued that illustrious statesman, notwithstanding the purity of his conduct, he was by the machinations of the Duke of Buckingham deprived of his government in 1669. During the same year, however, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

In 1670, his unalterable zeal for his Majesty's service induced him to protect the Irish Remonstrants. These were the Catholics, who opposed the violences of the Pope's nuncio; but the Anti-remonstrants prevailing by the support of the thenceforward English ministry, the Duke became an object of general hatred among the Irish Papists.

About the same time, a desperate design was formed against him by Colonel Blood, whom he had imprisoned in Ireland on account of his former plot. This desperado, being now in London, determined to seize his person, on his return from a city-entertainment; and in the prosecution of this purpose, the Duke was dragged out of his coach in St. James' Street and placed behind the son of his enterprising foe on horseback, either to be executed at Tyburn, or (as others state) to be conveyed out of the kingdom, and compelled to sign certain papers relative to an estate forfeited by Blood. They had already conveyed him beyond Devonshire House in Piccadilly, when by his struggles he threw both the man

and himself from the horse, and fortunately procuring assistance effected his release from the assassins. Blood, however, for certain reasons having been taken into favour, the King, though indignant at the attempt, requested the Duke to forgive it: to which he replied, 'If his Majesty could pardon him for having attempted to steal the crown, he himself might easily overlook the assault upon his life.'

For the seven succeeding years, Ormond was neither in favour with the court, nor employed by it: but, in 1677, he was surprised by a message announcing the King's intention to pay him a visit. The Duke of York, having reason to apprehend that the 'Cabal,' or court-party, intended to substitute the Duke of Monmouth as successor to Essex in the Lord Lieutenancy, with a view of frustrating their project had recommended Ormond to his royal brother, as the person most likely to conciliate general confidence. The loyal statesman acquiesced in the proposal; and on his arrival adopted vigorous measures for disarming the Papists, and maintaining public tranquillity: upon which, his Sovereign declared with an oath, that 'so long as he lived, he should never be put out of that government.'

He had the misfortune soon afterward of losing his eldest son, the Earl of Ossory,\* a distinguished

\* To the memory of this accomplished young man a beautiful tribute is paid by Dryden, in his 'Absalom and Achitophel,' where he characterises the Duke of Ormond as

\* \* \* \*

'Barzillai, crown'd with honour and with years.  
Long since, the rising rebels he withstood  
In regions waste, beyond the Jordan's flood:  
Unfortunately brave to buoy the state,  
But sinking underneath his master's fate;



young man, with whom he lived on terms of the most affectionate confidence. It was greatly his wish

In exile with his godlike prince he mourn'd :  
 For him he suffer'd, and with him return'd.  
 The court he practised, not the courtier's art :  
 Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart ;  
 Which well the noblest objects knew to choose—  
 The fighting warrior, and recording muse.  
 His bed could once a fruitful issue boast :  
 Now more than half a father's name is lost ;  
 His eldest hope with every grace adorn'd,  
 By me (so heaven will have it) always mourn'd  
 And always honour'd, snatch'd in manhood's prime  
 By' unequal fates and providence's crime :  
 Yet not before the goal of honour won,  
 All parts fulfill'd of subject and of son ;  
 Swift was the race, but short the time to run. }  
 Oh ! narrow circle, but of power divine ;  
 Scanted in space, but perfect in thy line !  
 By sea, by land, thy matchless worth was known ;  
 Arms thy delight, and war was all thy own.  
 Thy force infused the fainting Tyrians [*Dutch*] propp'd,  
 And haughty Pharaoh [*France*] found his fortune stopp'd.  
 Oh ancient honour ! oh unconquer'd hand,  
 Whom foes unpunish'd never could withstand !  
 But Israel [*England*] was unworthy of his name :  
 Short is the date of all immoderate fame.  
 It looks as heaven our ruin had design'd,  
 And durst not trust thy fortune and thy mind.'

Upon the death of Lord Ossory in 1680, the Lord Chamberlain wrote to his father, then at Kilkenny, to state the circumstances of it, and the particular requests of the deceased ; to which the Duke returned the following reply :

' *Kilkenny, August 9, 1680.*

' Though I had much more fear than hope of my son Ossory's recovery from yours of the 27th of the last month, and did all I could to prepare myself for what yours of the 31st brought me ; yet I find I was mistaken in myself, and that I want that composure I ought to have. The breach that the death of such a

to have called a parliament in Ireland, in order to settle affairs; but to this his Majesty would not give his consent. On a more limited scale of improve-

son has made in my family, with all the consequences of it, come into my thoughts as fast as grief will allow them entrance. I consider my own age, and my grandson's youth, and how unfit we are to contend with public and domestic difficulties: but God having let me see the vanity and sinfulness of any confidence and reliance upon that son, will I trust, upon a hearty submission to his blessed will, extend his protection to those he has left behind him. I have now in this world no business of my own belonging to the world, but to provide for his widow and fatherless children. All I have and shall have is, and, I trust in God, will be theirs: and I wish, for their sakes, I had been a better manager than I have been. My son's kindness to his wife, and care of her, increases my value of him and my sorrow for him; and I am glad he expressed it so frequently, when he thought of that hour which is come upon us. But there was no other need of it, than the manifestation of his good-nature; for I am ready to do for her, whatever she or her friends can wish, knowing that who are her friends must be her children's. What is to be done in relation to the payments of debts, and rewards of servants, I must have more time and more settled thoughts to resolve upon; only, in general, my intention is to fulfil all his desires, as far as they can be reasonably executed. The body I wish may remain in a decent repository, till I am able to think of removing it where I purpose to lie myself. I am not able to judge of the advantage of his son's appearing so early; but if the Bishop has delayed the sending him on your last summons till he hears from me; as by a letter from him I find his intention was, I desire he may be left there till I am in a case to offer your Lordship my sense concerning the disposing of him for the time to come. And, if the youth be with you, I wish he may be sent back as soon as you have produced him where you think fit. I should now own all your kindnesses to my son, which have been so long, so constant, and so useful to him to the last, and I am confident your love will transfer to those he hath left. Think but how I loved, and valued him; think me grateful, and then you will make some estimate of my sense of your concernment for him, &c.'

ment, he laid the foundation of the Hospital for soldiers; erected Charles Fort, to secure the harbour of Kinsale; and by detecting gross frauds in the revenue, and other measures, very considerably augmented both the finances and the forces of the kingdom.

The King at this time, with a view of gaining over his enemies, adopted the method of making them more formidable, by placing them in posts of power and credit; for which end, he desired Ormond to resign his post of Lord Steward of the Household. The account of the Popish plot being sent to Ireland, as including a design upon his Grace's life, occasioned his issuing proclamations and taking various precautions necessary upon such an occasion: as his moderation, however, did not meet the wishes of the more violent tempers with which he was surrounded, a design of assassinating him was strongly rumoured, and letters to that purpose were dropped in the streets, with the hope that for the sake of his own security he might be urged to greater severities. But his firmness of mind was not to be shaken.

Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Peers having insinuated, that 'Ormond was popishly inclined,' from this attack the Duke's friends inferred farther designs against him, and accordingly advised him to come to England. But on writing for the royal permission, the answer he received was, 'His Majesty had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and he was resolved to keep it so.' As it was still whispered, however, that he was to be removed, Lord Arlington inquired of his royal Master 'If such a report was true?' "No," replied Charles, "It is a d——d lie;

**I am satisfied, while Ormond is in Ireland, that kingdom is safe."**

The King, who believed that designs were formed to limit his authority, would have brought Lord Shaftesbury to his trial: but the grand jury properly threw out the bill, and as the ferment afterward abated in England, the Irish mind likewise sunk into a sympathetic repose. Under these favourable circumstances, the Lieutenant in 1682 had an opportunity, on the royal invitation, of coming over to London, leaving his son (the Earl of Arran) Lord Deputy. Upon his arrival he met with a most affectionate reception from his Majesty, was sworn of the Privy Council, and created an English Duke.

After two years' residence in England, he received orders to return to his government. No sooner had he set off, than he was attacked on some suggestions from Colonel Talbot; who made such a report to the King, that a general reformation in the council, the magistracy, and the army of Ireland was determined, and his Grace was warned by Sir Robert Southwell of his intended removal. Shortly afterward, the King himself intimated to him his pleasure upon the subject. On the sixth of February 1685, his Majesty died; and the Duke, having first caused James II. to be proclaimed, within four days laid down his office.\*

On his way to England, he received the news of

\* Lord Clarendon succeeded him in the Lieutenantancy; but, after a twelvemonth's enjoyment of that dignity, was recalled to make way for Colonel Talbot (created Earl of Tyrconnel) who introduced great changes in both the civil and the military establishment.

his regiment of horse being given to Colonel Talbot; but notwithstanding these affronts from the court, he was met near London by great numbers of coaches and received at his house by the populace with loud acclamations. He was also continued Lord Steward of the Household, and at the ensuing coronation again carried the crown.

At a subsequent period, he withstood the first instance of his Majesty's exercising a dispensing power; and, when James sounded him on the design of abolishing the penal laws, expressed himself unalterably steady in his dislike of what he foresaw would be contrary to the interests of the crown, however it might gratify the inclinations of it's wearer.

He was, without doubt, one of the best, as well as the greatest men of his time; with all the virtues requisite to adorn the station which he occupied, and very few foibles. Generous, high-spirited, and upright, in personal accomplishments he was exceeded by none: his behaviour, graceful and easy, was at the same time full of dignity, and created respect in all who saw him. He spoke extremely well both in private and in public, and expressed himself with great elegance and facility. From the comprehensiveness of his genius, there were few subjects, of which he was not entirely master; and yet, with all his talents and experience, he was extremely modest. Constitutionally loyal to his prince in all circumstances, and fearless of consequences in the discharge of duty, he still held that the law was to be the guide of sovereigns as well as of subjects; and, true to the interest of his country, he pursued and asserted it upon all occasions. He was a steady friend to the Church of England, and bred in his

family several men of learning who attained to eminence: among these were Hough the excellent Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Thomas Burnet of the Charter House. Descended from a very fortunate family, he was himself the most fortunate of that family. He was extremely happy in domestic concerns, living with his Duchess in a state of the most tender affection, and regarding her death, which took place about four years before his own, as the heaviest of his afflictions. He passed through a long life and a great variety of events with the highest reputation; was esteemed and beloved by the good of all parties, and upon his decease universally regretted. He died of the gout on the twenty first of July, 1686; and, on the fourth of August, was buried in Westminster Abbey.

His grandson James (son of the Earl of Ossory, and second Duke of Ormond) was appointed to the high station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland four times during the reign of Queen Anne, in the years 1703, 1704, 1710, and 1711. He was subsequently attainted by parliament, and retired in 1718 to France, where he died in 1746.

## EDMUND WALLER.\*

[1605—1687.]

THIS elegant poet was the son of Robert Waller, Esq. of Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire, by Ann, sister of the celebrated Mr. Hampden. He was born in 1605. As he lost his father when very young, the care of his education devolved upon his remaining parent. He had, however, the advantage of being left in very affluent circumstances. The writer of the Life prefixed to his Works says, "His father had the reputation of a wise man, and his economy was one of the distinguishing marks of his prudence. For though the family of Waller in Buckinghamshire was but a younger branch of the Wallers in Kent, yet this gentleman at his death left his son an estate of 3,500*l.* a-year; † a fortune, at that time, fit for a nobleman. And indeed the antiquity of this family, and the services they have rendered their country, deservedly place it among the most honourable in England." By the same author

\* AUTHORITIES. *Life of Waller* (prefixed to his Works, 1712); Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*.

† An income which, according to Johnson, "rating together the value of money and the customs of life, we may reckon more than equivalent to ten thousand at the present time."

we are farther informed, that he was placed at Eton; having been previously trained in grammar-learning, as we learn from Wood, under Mr. Dobson, Minister of Great Wycombe in Bucks. He was, subsequently, sent to King's College, Cambridge: but there his stay could not have been long; for, before he was eighteen, he was chosen into the third parliament of James I. as Burgess for Agmondesham.

At this time he frequented the court, where upon one occasion he heard the following very remarkable conversation:

His Majesty asked the Bishops (Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neale Bishop of Durham, then standing behind his chair), "My Lords, cannot I take my subjects' money, when I want it, without all this formality of parliament?" The Bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, Sir, but you should: you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon the King turned and said to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, my Lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the Bishop, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The King answered, "No put-offs, my Lord; answer me presently." "Then, Sir," said he, "I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money; for he offers it." Mr. Waller said, 'the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the King; for, a certain Lord coming in soon afterward, his Majesty cried out, "Oh, my Lord, they say you lig with my Lady." "No, Sir," replied his Lordship in confusion; "but I like her company, because she has so much wit." "Why then," said the King, "do you not lig with my Lord of Winchester there?"



That Mr. Waller began to exercise his poetical talents very early, appears from a copy of verses in his works, ‘Upon the danger his Majesty (then Prince) escaped in the road of St. Andero;’\* for there Prince Charles had nearly been cast away, in returning from Spain in 1623. It was not however his wit, or his poetry, which first introduced him to the public; but his carrying off Mrs. Banks, the daughter and heiress of a rich citizen, against his rival Mr. Croft, whose interest was espoused by the court.

It is not known, at what time he married his first lady: but he became a widower† before he was five and twenty; and being young, rich, vain, amorous, and ambitious, fell in love with the Lady Dorothy Sydney, daughter to the Earl of Leicester, whom he has immortalised under the name of Saccharissa.‡

\* This piece, says Dr. Johnson, justifies the observation made by one of his editors, that he attained by a felicity like instinct a stile, which perhaps will never be obsolete; and that, were we to judge only by the wording, we could not know what was written at twenty, and what at fourscore. His versification was, in his first essay, such as it appears in his last performance. By the perusal of Fairfax’s translation of Tasso, to which (as Dryden relates) he confessed himself indebted for the smoothness of his numbers, and by his own nicety of observation, he had already formed such a system of metrical harmony, as he never afterward much needed or much endeavoured to improve. Denham corrected his numbers by experience, and gained ground gradually upon the ruggedness of his age; but what was acquired by Denham, was inherited by Waller.

† His wife, who died in child-bed, had brought him a son who died young, and a daughter subsequently married to Mr. Dormer of Oxfordshire.

‡ This name (observes Johnson) “derived from the Latin appellation of *sugar*, if it means any thing, implies a spiritless mildness and dull good-nature; such as excites rather tenderness

This Lady however did not favour his passion, though he paid court to her in such strains,

“As moved all hearts, but hers he wished to move.”

It was after his first marriage, that Mr. Waller began to be known at court; and from that time he was caressed by all the people of quality, who had any relish for wit and polite literature, and elected into the celebrated club, of which Lord Falkland, Mr. Chillingworth, and other eminent men were members. At one of their meetings, they heard a noise in the street, and being told that ‘a son’ of Ben Jonson’s was arrested, they sent for him into the room: he proved to be Mr. George Morley, afterward Bishop of Winchester. Waller, delighted with his manners and appearance, though not prodigal of his money, undertook to pay the debt (which was about 100*l.*) on condition that he would live with him at Beaconsfield. With this stipulation Morley complied, and for eight or ten years rendered himself extremely useful to his liberal friend in improving his taste and assisting his studies.

He was again returned Burgess for Agmondesham, in the parliament which assembled in April 1640, in which he freely censured the arbitrary measures of the court.\* The same spirit likewise he

than esteem, and such as though always treated with kindness, is never honoured or admired.” She married in 1639 the Earl of Sunderland, who died at Newbury in the King’s cause.

By another lady, whom he celebrated in his poems under the name of Amoret, he is said to have meant Lady Sophia Murray.

\* In this vehement speech, in which he both quoted Hooker and copied him without quoting, he contended that ‘grievances ought to be redressed before supplies are granted;’ a position,

manifested in the Long Parliament, which met in the November following; and he was chosen to im-

which even Johnson admits to be "agreeable to law and reason." The biographer subsequently introduces with considerable commendation a speech of Waller's in favour of Episcopacy, which, though not inserted in his works, had been fortunately retrieved from a paper printed at that time by the writers of the Parliamentary History. In this, after protesting strongly against the admission of mob-influence, he observes, "We have already showed, that Episcopacy and the evils thereof are mingled like water and oil; we have also, in part, severed them: but I believe you will find, that our laws and the present government of the Church are mingled like wine and water; so inseparable, that the abrogation of, at least, a hundred of our laws are desired in these petitions. I have often heard a noble answer of the Lords, commended in this house, to a proposition of like nature but of less consequence; they gave no other reason of their refusal but this, *Nolumus mutare leges Anglice*. It was the Bishops, who so answered then; and it would become the dignity and wisdom of this house to answer the people, now, with a *Nolumus mutare*.

"I see some are moved with a number of hands against the Bishops; which, I confess, rather inclines me to their defence: for I look upon Episcopacy as a counter-scarp, or out-work; which, if it be taken by this assault of the people, and withal this mystery once revealed, 'That we must deny them nothing when they ask it thus in troops,' we may in the next place have as hard a task to defend our property, as we have lately had to recover it from the prerogative. If by multiplying hands and petitions, they prevail for an equality in things ecclesiastical, the next demand perhaps may be *Lex Agraria*, the like equality in things temporal.

"The Roman story tells us, that when the people began to flock about the senate, and were more curious to direct and know what was done than to obey, that Commonwealth soon came to ruin: their *Legem rogare* grew quickly to be a *Legem ferre*; and afterward, when their legions had found that they could make a Dictator, they never suffered the senate to have a voice any more in such election.

"If these great innovations proceed, I shall expect a flat and level in learning too, as well as in church-preferments: *Honos*

speech Judge Crawley, for his extrajudicial opinion in the affair of Ship-Money, which he did in a nervous and eloquent harangue in July, 1641. "He was probably the more ardent (remarks Johnson) upon this occasion, as his uncle Hampden had been particularly engaged in the dispute, and by a sentence which seems *generally to be thought unconstitutional* (a wonderful concession!) particularly injured." This speech was so highly relished by the public, that 20,000 copies of it were sold in one day.

At the latter end of 1642, he was one of the Commissioners appointed by parliament to bear to the King at Oxford their propositions of peace. Upon this occasion, Charles said to him, on their being presented, "Though you are the last, you are not the lowest nor the least in my favour." Whitlock, who

*alut artes.* And though it be true, that grave and pious men do study for learning-sake, and embrace virtue for itself; yet it is true that youth, which is the season when learning is gotten, is not without ambition, nor will ever take pains to excel in any thing, when there is not some hope of excelling others in reward and dignity.

"There are two reasons chiefly alleged against our church-government:

"First, Scripture, which (as some men think) points out another form;

"Second, The abuses of the present superiors.

"For Scripture, I will not dispute it in this place; but I am confident that, whenever an equal division of lands and goods shall be desired, there will be as many places in Scripture found out, which seem to favour that, as there are now alleged against the prelacy or preferment of the Church. And as for abuses, when you are now in the Remonstrance told 'what this and that poor man hath suffered by the Bishops,' you may be presented with a thousand instances of poor men that have received hard measure from their landlords, and of worldly goods abused to the injury of others, and disadvantage of the owners."

(being another of the Commissioners) was witness of this kindness, imputes it to the King's knowledge of the plot, in which Waller appears soon afterward to have engaged against the parliament; probably, because he thought his opponents too violent in their proceedings. Whatever were his motives, he entered into a confederacy with Tomkins his brother-in-law, clerk of the Queen's Council, and Chaloner his brother-in-law's friend, to oppose the means necessary for carrying on the war against the King. This project the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Conway, and other noblemen so far encouraged, as to express their desire that expedients might be found to limit the authority exercised by the Commons: and by the royal Council it was even extended to the taking under their care the royal children; the securing of the principal leaders of the two Houses (the Lords Say and Wharton, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode) with the Lord Mayor and Committee of the Militia; the seizing of the out-works, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city and Tower; and the admitting of three thousand of his Majesty's forces from Oxford, as soon as the matter should be advanced to a proper maturity; While the affair however was in agitation, and lists were forming of such as were conceived to be well-affected to the design, a servant who had accidentally overheard the discussion of the conspirators, carried the intelligence to Mr. Pym: upon which Waller, with some others, was taken into custody.

Waller's courage, at no time very great, now failed him; and under the hope of saving his life, he readily confessed every circumstance of the plot, and betrayed his nobler accomplices without compunction, counter-

feiting at the same time such remorse of conscience, that his trial was put off out of mere compassion, till he should recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy; received their exhortations with reverence and humility, made them sumptuous presents, and pretended to gain from their instructions a degree of religious light and knowledge which he had never before attained. In the mean time his associates, Tomkins and Chaloner, were tried by a court-martial, convicted, and executed. The latter was attended, at his execution, by Hugh Peters. Northumberland was too great for prosecution. The Earl of Portland and Lord Conway persisting to deny the charge, which rested upon Waller's single testimony, were admitted to bail; and Hampden, though protected from actual punishment by the interest of his family, was kept in prison to the end of his life.

Waller himself, as Lord Clarendon informs us, though confessedly the most guilty, being "a man in truth very powerful in language; and who, by what he spoke, and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good will and benevolence of his hearers (which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission as their pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind and spirit as was like to cosen the major part and be thought serious; laid before them 'their own danger, and concernment, if they should suffer one of their own body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tried by the soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power hereafter, that they would both try those they would not be willing should be tried, and for

things which they would account no crimes; the inconvenience and insupportable mischief whereof all wise commonwealths had foreseen, and prevented, by exempting their own members from all judgements but their own.' He prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war, and thereby preserved his dear-bought life;\* so that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration, as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully: and by having done ill very well, he by degrees drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the person, that he got leave to compound for his transgression, and them to accept of 10,000*l.*, which their affairs wanted, for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himself in another country (for his liberty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had made himself, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the inestimable value of his parts, than that he lived after this, in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach and scorn of few or none."

Waller now retired into France, where he lived at Paris in a stile of considerable hospitality; being the only Englishman, except Lord St. Alban's, who kept a table. He seems, indeed, to have inverted the common practice; to have been a hoarder in his first years, and a squanderer in his last. This so reduced his finances, that he was compelled to sell his wife's jewels. For he had now married a second wife,

\* Whitlocke however and others affirm, that he was actually tried and condemned, but through the interest of Essex obtained first a reprieve, and finally a pardon.

named Mary, of the family of Bresse or Breaux.\* During his stay in France, he resided some time at Rouen, where his daughter Margaret was born. To this daughter, who used to serve him as his amanuensis, he was particularly attached. About the same period, he published the first edition of his Poems.

When Cromwell had assumed the protectorship, Waller, who was related to him, and was now reduced to what he himself called the 'rump-jewel,' obtained leave to return home: and with the remains of his fortune built himself a house at Hall Barn, very near to Beaconsfield, where his mother resided. She, though so nearly related to the leading antagonists of Charles I., was invariably zealous in arguing for the royal cause; till Cromwell, finding in time that she acted as well as talked, made her a prisoner at last to her own daughter in her own house. This, however, did not prevent him from receiving his poetical kinsman with great kindness. Waller, as he used to relate, found him sufficiently versed in ancient history; and when any of his enthusiastic friends came to advise or consult him, could sometimes overhear him discoursing in the cant of the times: but when

\* As none of his verses appear to have been written upon this lady, Johnson justly remarks, that "many qualities contribute to domestic happiness, upon which poetry has no colours to bestow; and many airs and sallies delight imagination, which he who flatters them never can approve. There are charms made only for distant admiration. No spectacle is nobler than a blaze. In reality (observes Dr. Anderson) true homefelt bliss, like a deep stream, makes the least noise in it's course; and that such Waller enjoyed in his second marriage may be reasonably inferred from his wife's having brought him thirteen children," five sons and eight daughters.



he returned, he would say, "Cousin Waller, I must talk to these men in their own way," and resumed the common stile of conversation.

For this favour he recompensed the Protector by the celebrated panegyric,\* which has always been deemed the first of his productions. He paid him also a noble compliment upon his death in a poem,\* which seems to have been dictated by real veneration for his memory. Yet on the restoration of Charles II., his courtly muse with commodious pliancy complimented that Monarch upon his 'happy return.' Being told, on presenting this Poem, by his Majesty, that 'he thought it much inferior to his panegyric on Cromwell:' "Sire," replied the witty bard, "we poets never succeed so well in writing truth, as in fiction." Poets indeed (as Johnson observes) profess fiction: but the legitimate end of fiction is the conveyance of truth; and he, that has flattery ready for all whom the vicissitudes of the world happen to exalt, must be scorned as a prostituted mind, that may retain the glitter of wit, but has lost the dignity of virtue.

The inferiority of the royalist poem, the same great authority ascribes to the personal inferiority of it's subject. A life of escapes and indigence could supply poetry with no splendid images; while Cromwell wanted nothing to raise him to heroic excellence, except virtue. He was now much caressed by his profligate Sovereign, and in his diversions at the Duke of Buckingham's, and other places, generally made one of the party. Charles even tolerated his temperance; upon which Mr. Savile observed, that "No man in

\* See the Extracts. Dryden and Sprat, likewise, bewailed the death of Cromwell with "melodious tears."

England should keep him company without drinking, but Ned Waller." His Majesty was, also, anxious to appoint him to the Provostship of Eton; but by the statutes of the college laymen are excluded from the enjoyment of that high office.\* As it was the Chancellor Clarendon, who from this consideration refused to affix his seal to the grant, the active part which Waller took in the prosecution of that illustrious nobleman has, perhaps justly, been ascribed rather to a spirit of vindictiveness than a love of justice. They, certainly, did not like one another.

Waller sat in several parliaments after the Restoration: in 1661, for Hastings; in 1678, for Chipping Wycombe; and for Saltash, in 1685, in the first parliament of James II. At this time he wrote a 'Pre-sage of the Downfall of the Turkish† Empire,' which he presented to the King on his birth-day. He was now very old, but his wit and abilities still rendered him the object of general admiration. "He was the delight (says Burnet) of the House; and, even at eighty, he said the liveliest things of any among them."‡ This made his company agreeable to the very last.

\* It is known, that Sir Henry Wotton qualified himself for it by deacon's orders: and the Provosts always receive institution, as for a parsonage, from the Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Zachary Cradock was chosen by the fellows in his stead.

† It is remarked by his commentator Fenton, that in reading Tasso he had early imbibed a veneration for the heroes of the Holy War, and a zealous enmity to the Turks, which never left him.

‡ As a proof of the consideration in which he was held, "even his remarks (says Johnson) were circulated and recorded." When the Duke of York's influence was high both in Scotland and England, it drew (we are informed by Burnet) a lively reflexion from Waller, the celebrated wit. "The House of Com-

James II. once took him into his closet, and asked him, how he liked such a picture. "Sir," replied Mr. Waller, "my eyes are dim, and I don't know whose it is." The King said, "It is the Princess of Orange." Upon which Mr. Waller observed, "She is like the greatest woman in the world." "Whom do you call so?" inquired James. "Queen Elizabeth," answered he. "I wonder, Mr. Waller," replied the King, "you should think so; but, I must confess, she had a wise Council." "Sir," asked Mr. Waller in his turn, "did you ever know a fool choose a wise one?" Some time after this, it being known that he intended to take Dr. Birch for his son-in-law, James expressed his surprise that 'he should have any thoughts of marrying his daughter to a falling church.' His answer was, "Sire, I have lived long enough to observe, that this falling church has got a trick of rising again."

Being now arrived at an age seldom attained by poets or courtiers, he began to feel his vital powers decay, though those of his mind continued unimpaired: the composition of the last years of his life possessing all the excellences of his former ones. Not long before his death, he purchased an estate with a small house upon it at Coleshill,\* his birth-place, to which he frequently retired. 'He should be glad,'

mons (he observed) had resolved that the Duke should not reign after the King's death; but the King, in opposition to them, had resolved that he should reign even during his life." Nor was his fame confined to his own country; by St. Evremond, with whom he kept up a confidential correspondence, it was disseminated over Europe.

\* This, though it stands in Hertfordshire, is in the parish of Agmondesham.

he said, 'to die like the stag, where he was roused.' But, in this, his wish was not gratified. He was at Hall Barn, when finding his legs begin to swell, he took Dr. Birch with him to Sir Charles Scarborough, then in attendance at Windsor as First Physician to James II.; and told him, that 'he came to him as an old friend, to ask him what that swelling meant:' on which Sir Charles bluntly replied, "Why, Sir, your blood will run no longer." With the utmost composure, Waller immediately repeated some appropriate lines from Virgil, on the condition of human life. The symptom increasing, he ordered Dr. Birch to give him the Holy Sacrament, and desired all his children to join with him. At the same time, he earnestly professed his firm belief in Christianity; adding, that when the Duke of Buckingham once talked profanely before King Charles, he had told him, "My Lord, I am a great deal older than your Grace, and I believe I have heard more arguments for atheism than ever you did: but I have lived long enough to see there is nothing in them, and so I hope your Grace will." He died October 21, 1687, at the advanced age of eighty two, and was interred with his ancestors in the church-yard at Beaconsfield, where a handsome monument, with an inscription by Rymer, was erected to his memory.

In parliament, says Clarendon, to whom he was accurately known, he ever appeared with great advantage; having a graceful way of speaking, and by thinking much upon several arguments (which his temper and complexion, that had much of melancholic, inclined him to) he seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the occasion had only administered the opportunity of saying what he had thoroughly

considered, which gave a great lustre to all he said, which was rather of delight than weight. He was only concerned however, we are told by Burnet, to say that which should make him be applauded, and never laid the business of the House to heart, being a vain and empty though a witty man. So qualified, even at this day (remarks one of his biographers, writing in the day of Pitt, and Burke, and Fox) when English oratory may dispute the palm with that of Greece and Rome, the language of his parliamentary speeches would not be deemed obsolete, nor their influence pass unfelt. How forcible is the contrast, he adds, between Waller and his kinsman Cromwell! and how wide the difference between acting and speaking! All the natural and acquired accomplishments of the first, aided by a powerful fortune and dazzling eloquence, were lost, because their possessor was destitute of fortitude, consistency, and activity; while the latter wanting them all, and scarcely able to speak or write a sentence intelligibly, yet by an unparalleled energy of soul and an intuitive perception of the human character, overturned an ancient monarchy, usurped the government, and tyrannised over a nation of demagogues." And yet this pliancy of principle alone it was, if indeed life could be considered as worth retaining upon such a condition, which carried him safely in times so pregnant with danger, through the midst of contending factions; and rendered him acceptable to sovereigns so different in their temper and their views as the four Stuarts and the Protector. If the celebrated neutrality of Atticus were scrutinised, would it be found to be more than a refined and dexterous tergiversation?

There needs no more to be said to extol the excel-

lence and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach: viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation, and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his life from those, who were most resolved to take it, and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it, and then preserved him again from the reproach and contempt that was due to him for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a price; that it had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked, and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious, and he was at least pitied where he was most detested.

“His wit and his poetry,” says Johnson, “naturally connected him with the polite writers of his time: he was joined with Lord Buckhurst in the translation of Corneille’s ‘Pompey,’ and is said to have added his help to that of Cowley in the original draught of the ‘Rehearsal.’ Of his course of studies or choice of books, however, nothing is known more, than that he professed himself ‘unable to read Chapman’s translation of Homer without rapture!’ His opinion concerning the duty of a poet is contained in his declaration, that ‘he would blot from his work any line, which did not contain some motive to virtue.’”

His estate, which he had greatly reduced, he be-

queathed to his second son Edmund ; his eldest, Benjamin, being so far from inheriting his father's wit, that he even wanted common understanding. His successor was esteemed a man of considerable abilities, and was several times chosen a member of the House of Commons ; but, in the latter part of his life, he became a Quaker. His fourth son, Dr. Stephen Waller a celebrated civilian, was one of the Commissioners appointed for effecting the Union of the two Kingdoms.

The best edition of Waller's works is that published in 1730, 4to. with notes and observations, by Mr. Elijah Fenton. It has, subsequently, been reprinted in small 8vo.

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**EXTRACTS.***To the King on his Navy.*

• **WHERE'ER** thy navy spreads her canvas wings,  
Homage to thee, and peace to all she brings ;  
The French and Spaniard, when thy flags appear,  
Forget their hatred, and consent to fear.  
So Jove from Ida did both hosts survey,  
And when he pleased to thunder, part the fray.  
Ships heretofore in seas like fishes sped ;  
The mightiest still upon the smallest fed :  
Thou on the deep imposest nobler laws,  
And by that justice hast removed the cause  
Of those rude tempests, which for rapine sent,  
Too oft, alas ! involved the innocent.  
Now shall the Ocean, as thy Thames, be free  
From both those fates of storms and piracy.  
But we most happy, who can fear no force  
But winged troops or Pegasean horse :  
Tis not so hard for greedy foes to spoil  
Another nation, as to touch our soil.

Should nature's self invade the world again,  
 And o'er the centre spread the liquid main,  
 Thy power were safe, and her destructive hand  
 Would but enlarge the bounds of thy command.  
 Thy dreadful fleet would stile thee Lord of all!  
 And ride in triumph o'er the drowned ball:  
 Those towers of oak o'er fertile plains might go,  
 And visit mountains where they once did grow.  
 The world's restorer once could not endure  
 That finish'd Babel should those men secure,  
 Whose pride design'd that fabric to have stood  
 Above the reach of any second flood:  
 To thee, his chosen, more indulgent, he  
 Dares trust such power with so much piety.'

---

*On a Girdle.*

' THAT, which her slender waist confined,  
 Shall now my joyful temples bind:  
 No monarch but would give his crown,  
 His arms might do what this has done.

It was my Heaven's extremest sphere,  
 The pale which held that lovely deer;  
 My joy, my grief, my hope, my love  
 Did all within this circle move!

A narrow compass, and yet there  
 Dwelt all that's good and all that's fair;  
 Give me but what this riband bound,  
 Take all the rest the sun goes round.'

---

*A Panegyric to my Lord Protector, of the present Greatness, and  
 joint Interest, of his Highness and this nation.*

' WHILE with a strong and yet a gentle hand,  
 You bridle faction, and our hearts command;  
 Protect us from ourselves, and from the foe,  
 Make us unite, and make us conquer too:



Let partial spirits still aloud complain,  
Think themselves injured that they cannot reign,  
And own no liberty but where they may  
Without control upon their fellows prey.

Above the waves as Neptune show'd his face,  
To chide the winds and save the Trojan race,  
So has your Highness, raised above the rest,  
Storms of ambition tossing up repress.

Your drooping country, torn with civil hate,  
Restored by you, is made a glorious state ;  
The seat of empire, where the Irish come,  
And the unwilling Scots, to fetch their doom.

The sea's our own, and now all nations greet  
With bending sails each vessel of our fleet :  
Your power extends as far as winds can blow,  
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go.

Heaven (that hath placed this island to give law,  
To balance Europe, and it's states to awe)  
In this conjunction doth on Britain smile,  
The greatest leader, and the greatest isle !

Whether this portion of the world were rent  
By the rude ocean from the continent,  
Or thus created, it was sure design'd  
To be the sacred refuge of mankind.

Hither th' oppressed shall henceforth resort,  
Justice to crave and succour at your court ;  
And then your Highness, not for ours alone,  
But for the world's Protector shall be known.

Fame, swifter than your winged navy, flies  
Through every land that near the ocean lies,  
Sounding your name, and telling dreadful news  
To all that piracy and rapine use.

With such a chief the meanest nation blest,  
Might hope to lift her head above the rest :  
What may be thought impossible to do,  
By us embraced, by the sea, and you !

Lords of the world's great waste, the ocean, we  
Whole forests send to reign upon the sea,  
And every coast may trouble or relieve ;  
But none can visit us without your leave.

Angels and we have this prerogative,  
That none can at our happy seats arrive ;  
While we descend at pleasure, to invade  
The bad with vengeance, and the good to aid.

Our little world, the image of the great,  
Like that amidst the boundless ocean set,  
Of her own growth hath all that Nature craves,  
And all that's rare, as tribute from the waves.

As Egypt does not on the clouds rely,  
But to the Nile owes more than to the sky ;  
So what our earth and what our heaven denies  
Our ever constant friend, the sea, supplies.

The taste of hot Arabia's spice we know,  
Free from the scorching sun that makes it grow :  
Without the worm, in Persian silks we shine,  
And without planting drink of every vine.

To dig for wealth we weary not our limbs ;  
Gold, though the heaviest metal, hither swims.  
Ours is the harvest where the Indians mow ;  
We plough the deep, and reap what others sow.

Things of the noblest kind our own soil breeds ;  
Stout are our men, and warlike are our steeds.  
Rome, though her eagle through the world had flown,  
Could never make this island all her own.

Here the Third Edward, and the Black Prince too,  
France-conquering Henry flourish'd, and now you ;  
For whom we stay'd, as did the Grecian state,  
Till Alexander came to urge their fate.

When for more worlds the Macedonian cry'd,  
He wist not Thetis in her lap did hide  
Another yet ; a world reserved for you,  
To make more great than that he did subdue.

He safely might old troops to battle lead,  
Against th' unwarlike Persian and the Mede,  
Whose hasty flight did from a bloodless field  
More spoils than honour to the victor yield.

A race unconquer'd, by their clime made bold,  
The Caledonians arm'd with want and cold  
Have, by a fate indulgent to your fame,  
Been from all ages kept for you to tame.

Whom the old Roman wall so ill confined,  
With a new chain of garrisons you bind:  
Here foreign gold no more shall make them come;  
Our English iron holds them fast at home.

They, that henceforth must be content to know  
No warmer region than the hills of snow,  
May blame the sun, but must extol your grace  
Which in our senate hath allow'd them place.

Preferr'd by conquest, happily overthrown,  
Falling they rise, to be with us made one.  
So kind Dictators made, when they came home,  
Their vanquish'd foes free citizens of Rome.

Like favour find the Irish, with like fate,  
Advanced to be a portion of our state;  
While by your valour and your bounteous mind,  
Nations, divided by the sea, are join'd.

Holland, to gain your friendship, is content  
To be our outguard on the Continent:  
She from her fellow-provinces would go,  
Rather than hazard to have you her foe.

In our late fight, when cannons did diffuse,  
Preventing posts, the terror and the news,  
Our neighbour princes trembled at their roar;  
But our conjunction makes them tremble more.

Your never-failing sword made war to cease,  
And now you heal us with the acts of peace;  
Our minds with bounty and with awe engage,  
Invite affection, and restrain our rage.

Less pleasure take brave minds in battle won,  
Than in restoring such as are undone:  
Tigers have courage, and the rugged bear,  
But man alone can whom he conquers spare.

To pardon willing, and to punish loth,  
You strike with one hand, but you heal with both;  
Lifting up all that prostrate lie, you grieve  
You cannot make the dead again to live.

When fate or error had our age misled,  
And o'er this nation such confusion spread,  
The only cure which could from Heaven come down,  
Was so much power and piety in one!

One, whose extraction from an ancient line  
Gives hopes, again that well-born men may shine.  
The meanest in your nature, mild and good,  
The noblest rest secured in your blood.

Oft have we wonder'd, how you hid in peace  
A mind proportion'd to such things as these ;  
How such a ruling sp'rit you could restrain,  
And practise first over yourself to reign.

Your private life did a just pattern give  
How fathers, husbands, pious sons, should live.  
Born to command, your princely virtues slept,  
Like humble David's, while the flock he kept :

But when your troubled country call'd you forth,  
Your flaming courage and your matchless worth,  
Dazzling the eyes of all that did pretend,  
To fierce contention gave a prosperous end.

Still as you rise, the state exalted too  
Finds no distemper while 'tis changed by you :  
Changed like the world's great scene, when without noise  
The rising sun night's vulgar lights destroys.

Had you, some ages past, this race of glory  
Run, with amazement we should read your story ;  
But living virtue, all achievements past,  
Meets envy still to grapple with at last.

This Cæsar found, and that ungrateful age  
With losing him went back to blood and rage ;  
Mistaken Brutus thought to break their joke,  
But cut the bond of union with that stroke.

That sun once set, a thousand meaner stars  
Gave a dim light to violence and wars ;  
To such a tempest as now threatens all,  
Did not your mighty arm prevent the fall.

If Rome's great senate could not wield that sword,  
Which of the conquer'd world had made them lord,  
What hope had ours, while yet their power was new,  
To rule victorious armies, but by you ?

You, that had taught them to subdue their foes,  
Could order teach, and their high sp'rits compose.  
To every duty could their minds engage,  
Provoke their courage, and command their rage.

So when a lion shakes his dreadful mane,  
And angry grows, if he that first took pain  
To tame his youth approach the haughty beast,  
He bends to him, but frights away the rest.

As the vex'd world, to find repose, at last  
Itself into Augustus' arms did cast ;  
So England now does, with like toil opprest,  
Her weary head upon your bosom rest.

Then let the Muses, with such notes as these,  
Instruct us what belongs unto our peace :  
Your battles they hereafter shall endite,  
And draw the image of our Mars in fight ;

Tell of towns storm'd, of armies over-run,  
And mighty kingdoms by your conduct won ;  
How, while you thunder'd, clouds of dust did choke  
Contending troops, and seas long hid in smoke.

Illustrious acts high raptures do infuse,  
And every conqueror creates a Muse :  
Here, in low strains, your milder deeds we sing ;  
But there, my Lord, we'll bays and olive bring

To crown your head ; while you in triumph ride  
O'er vanquish'd nations, and the sea beside ;  
While all your neighbour-princes unto you,  
Like Joseph's sheaves, pay reverence and bow.\*

---

*Upon the Death of the Lord Protector.*

' We must resign ! Heaven his great soul does claim,  
In storms as loud as his immortal fame ;  
His dying groans, his last breath shakes our isle,  
And trees uncut fall for his funeral pile !  
About his palace their broad roots are tost  
Into the air.—So Romulus was lost !  
New Rome in such a tempest miss'd her king,  
And from obeying fell to worshipping.  
On Ceta's top thus Hercules lay dead,  
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him spread :  
The poplar too, whose bough he went to wear  
On his victorious head, lay prostrate there.

Those his last fury from the mountain rent ;  
 Our dying hero from the continent  
 Ravish'd whole towns, and forts from Spaniards rest,  
 As his last legacy to Britain left.  
 The ocean, which so long our hopes confined,  
 Could give no limits to his vaster mind.  
 Our bounds' enlargement was his latest toil,  
 Nor hath he left us prisoners to our isle :  
 Under the tropic is our language spoke,  
 And part of Flanders hath received our yoke.  
 From civil broils he did us disengage,  
 Found nobler objects for our martial rage,  
 And with wise conduct to his country show'd  
 The ancient way of conquering abroad.  
 Ungrateful, then ! if we no tears allow  
 To him, that gave us peace and empire too.  
 Princes that fear'd him grieve, concern'd to see  
 No pitch of glory from the grave is free :  
 Nature herself took notice of his death,  
 And, sighing, swell'd the sea with such a breath  
 That to remotest shores her billows roll'd  
 Th' approaching fate of their great ruler told.'

---

*Ad Comitem Monumetensem, de Bentivoglio suo.*

*FLORIBUS Angligenis non hanc tibi necto corollam,  
 Cùm satis indigenis te probet ipse liber :  
 Per me Roma sciet tibi se debere, quòd Anglo  
 Romanus didicit cultiùs ore loqui.  
 Ultima quæ tellus aquilas duce Cæsare vidit,  
 Candida Romulidum te duce scripta videt.  
 Consilio ut quondam patriam nil juveris, esto !  
 Sed studio cives ingenioque juvas.  
 Namque dolis liber hic instructus et arte Batavâ,  
 A Belgâ nobis ut caveamus, ait.  
 Horremus per te civilis dira furoris  
 Vulnera : discordes Flandria quassa monet.  
 Hic discat miles pugnare, orare senator ;  
 Qui regnant, leni sceptrâ tenere manu.*

*Macte, Comes ; virtute novâ ; vestri ordinis ingens  
Ornamentum, ævi deliciæque tui !  
Dum stertunt alii somno vinoque sepulti,  
Nobilis antiquo stemmate digna facis.*

## IMITATED.

Not of thy native flowers this wreath I twine :  
Enough thy page commends thee unto thine.  
Proud Rome by me shall learn, to thee she owes  
That brighten'd through thy pen her genius flows ;  
That there, where last her Cæsar's eagles flew,  
Thou givest thy country Roman sense to view.  
Whate'er of wrong thy tongue in council wove,  
Thy talents charm her, and thy toils improve :  
For still, unfolding Belgium's tissued lies,  
' Beware of Belgian wiles,' thy volume cries.  
Thou show'st what civil fury's miseries are ;  
And bleeding Flanders warns us to beware :  
By thee the soldier, statesman, sovereign-train  
Are taught to fight, to reason, and to reign.

Onward, illustrious man, thy order's pride !  
Thy age's glory ! onward, Monmouth, ride :  
And, while lewd peers disgrace the names they bear,  
Assert the honours which 'tis thine to wear.

F. W.

## SIR WILLIAM PETTY.\*

[1623—1687.]

**W**ILLIAM PETTY was the eldest son of a clothier of Rumsey in Hampshire, where he was born in the year 1623. From his very infancy he discovered a genius for the mechanic arts, his chief amusement being to observe artificers at work, and to attempt imitations of their performances; so that, at twelve years of age, he could use tools of several kinds with great dexterity. According to his own account, he made equal progress in polite literature; having attained a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and French languages, and rendered himself master of common arithmetic, practical geometry, dialling, and the astronomical part of navigation before he was fifteen. Thus accomplished, he went in search of farther improvement to the University of Caen in Normandy. Upon his return to England, he obtained some place in the Navy Office: and having by strict economy saved threescore pounds, he embarked with his youngest brother Antony for the Continent, about the year 1643; for the purpose of studying physic at Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam,

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Ward's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, and Granger's *Biographical History of England*.



and Paris. At the last of these Universities he read the works of Vesalius, the celebrated Flemish anatomist, in company with Hobbes, who took great pleasure in forwarding his pregnant genius.

As sixty pounds could obviously have done little more than set him forward on his journey, it has been generally surmised, that he carried on some advantageous branch of traffic with his own country during his three years' residence abroad; for upon his return to England in 1646, he brought home with him ten pounds more than he carried out: a circumstance, which he has himself left wholly unaccounted for.

In 1647, he obtained a patent for an instrument which he had invented for double writing. This is described as being of small bulk and price, easily made, and extremely durable; and the art of using it could be learnt in an hour. But the additional fatigue occasioned to the hand by the increase of weight above that of a pen, rendered the project useless with respect to the chief advantage proposed by it, that of expedition: so that he derived little benefit from his exclusive privilege, except that it spread the reputation of his ingenuity, and brought him acquainted with all his learned contemporaries. By their advice he fixed his abode at Oxford, where he practised chemistry and physic with great success, and assisted Dr. Clayton, the Professor of Anatomy, in his dissections. The philosophical meetings, which preceded the institution of the Royal Society,\* were frequently held at his lodgings; and some

\* Of the very rudiments of this most respectable society we have an account in Dr. Wallis' Memorials of his own Life, ad-

of the leading men in the House of Commons had the honourable ambition of advancing the in-

addressed to the Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D. of Magdalen College, Oxford. "About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our Universities) beside the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the 'New Philosophy' or 'Experimental Philosophy.'

"We did by agreement, divers of us, meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs. Of which number were Dr. John Wilkins (afterward Bishop of Chester) Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Dr. George Ent, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Merret (Drs. in Physic) Mr. Samuel Foster, the Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, Mr. Theodore Haak (a German of the Palatinate and then resident in London, who I think gave the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings) and many others.

"These meetings we held sometimes at Dr. Goddard's lodgings in Wood Street (or some convenient place near) on occasion of his keeping an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes and microscopes, and sometime at a convenient place in Cheapside; sometime at Gresham College, or some place near adjoining.

"Our business was (precluding matters of theology and state-affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries, and such as related thereunto; as physic, anatomy, geometry, astronomy, navigation, statics, magnetics, chemics, mechanics, and natural experiments, with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We there discoursed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins, the *Venæ Lactææ*, the lymphatic vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape (as it then appeared) of Saturn, the spots in the Sun and it's turning on it's own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the Moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities and

terests of a scholar and a man of genius. Accordingly, in 1649, a parliamentary recommendation was sent to Brazen Nose College to elect him to a fellowship vacated by ejection, which was complied with, the University at the same time conferring upon him an honorary degree of M. D.: and in 1650,\* he

nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver, the descent of heavy bodies and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature. Some of which were then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known or embraced as they now are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called the 'New Philosophy;' which from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England.

"About the year 1648-9, some of our company being removed to Oxford (first Dr. Wilkins, then I, and soon afterward Dr. Goddard) our company divided. Those in London continued to meet there as before (and we with them, when we had occasion to be there); and those of us at Oxford with Dr. Ward, since Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, now President of Trinity College in Oxford, Dr. PETTY (since SIR WILLIAM PETTY), Dr. Willis, then an eminent physician in Oxford, and divers others, continued such meetings in Oxford, and brought those studies into fashion there: meeting first at Dr. Petty's lodgings in an apothecary's house, because of the convenience of inspecting drugs and the like, as there was occasion; and after his remove to Ireland (though not so constantly) at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham College, and after his removal to Trinity College in Cambridge, at the lodgings of the Hon. Mr. Robert Boyle, then resident for divers years in Oxford.

"These meetings in London continued, and after the King's return in 1660 were increased with the accession of divers worthy and honourable persons; and were, afterward, incorporated by the name of the ROYAL SOCIETY, &c. and so continue to this day." (See Smith's Collection of MSS. in the Bodl. Libr.)

\* In December of the same year, he was principally

was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians in London.

In the beginning of the following year, upon the resignation of Dr. Clayton, he was elected Anatomy Professor; and he, likewise, succeeded Dr. Knight in the Professorship of Music in Gresham College. In 1652, he was appointed Physician to the army

concerned in restoring to life one Anne Green, who had been hanged at Oxford for the murder of her bastard child. Of this woman it is related, that she hung nearly half an hour; during which time her friends, in order to put her out of pain, beat upon her breast, suspended themselves from her legs, and lifting her up pulled her down again with sudden and violent jerks: yet was she not deprived of life! After being placed in her coffin, she was observed to breathe, upon which a lusty fellow stamped with all his force on her breast and stomach. Her body was then consigned to the doctors, who finding some heat in it, proceeded (we are not told by what means) to recover her. She lived many years afterward, and bore several children. "If Hippolytus, revived only by poetic fancies (quaintly observes Fuller) was surnamed Virbius, because twice a man; why may not Mulierbia by as good proportion be applied to her, who since is married, and liveth in this country in good reputation?"

Among many other epigrams on this subject, the following was written by Dr. Ralph Bathurst:

*In Puellam ὑστροποτρύον, à patibulo reviviscentem,*

*Quæ nuper medicos vespillonesque fefellit,*

*Et non unius victima mortis erat,*

*Quam benè Netricis titulum meruisse putanda est,*

*Cùm poterat stamen sic renovare suum?*

‘Thou more than mortal, that with many lives  
Hast mock’d the sexton and the doctor’s knives;  
The name of *Spinster* thou may’st justly wed,  
Since there’s no halter stronger than thy *thread*.’

For a longer account of Anne Green, see Morgan’s ‘*Phoenix Britannicus*.’

in Ireland; and discharged the same office to three successive Lord Lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell. These preferments, together with extensive practice in the city of Dublin, placed him in a state of affluence. His active genius, however, could not be confined to the science of physic. Being an excellent mathematician, he was completely master of the art of surveying; and having observed that after the Irish rebellion of 1641 the forfeited lands, which had been allotted to the soldiers for suppressing it, were very defectively measured, he forwarded such representations upon the subject to the Protector, that he obtained from him a contract in 1654 to make new admeasurements. By his extraordinary accuracy upon this occasion the true value of every estate, exceeding 60*l. per ann.* was ascertained, and plans were, also, drawn by him of the whole territory.\* His contract netted him upward of ten thousand pounds. Henry Cromwell, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the course of that year, chose Dr. Petty to be his Secretary, in 1657 made him Clerk of the Council, and procured him to be returned in the English parliament, for the borough of West Looe in Cornwall. But here he met with a severe mortification, being impeached in March 1658, by Sir Hierom Sankey, for high crimes and misdemeanors in his survey and distribution of the Irish lands, a business for which he had justly expected universal applause.

\* From authentic records it appears that, in 1655, he had surveyed 2,800,000 acres of forfeited improveable land, part of which he had divided among the disbanded soldiers.

The charge however being general, and the Doctor absent in Ireland, it was thought reasonable that it should be reduced into articles, and in the mean time that he should be summoned to attend the house within the space of a month. But the parliament being suddenly dissolved by Richard Cromwell, the business never came to a final issue.

The attempt having thus failed in England, Sankey commenced a more vigorous prosecution against him in Ireland, upon his return ; and though he published a justification of his conduct entitled ‘ Brief Proceedings between himself and Sir Hierom, with Reflexions upon some Persons and Things in Ireland,’ yet neither this performance, nor a letter written in his favour by Henry Cromwell to his brother the Protector, could prevent his being dismissed from all public employment, when the remnant of the Long Parliament resumed the reins of government. Upon this event, in June 1659, he became a member of the ROTA CLUB.\* His courtly interest however visibly declining, he employed his time in improving his Irish estates, which were then very considerable, till the Restoration. He then came over to England, and was graciously received by his Majesty ; who soon afterward appointed him one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, established in Ireland, in 1662, to settle the disputes relative to forfeited estates in that king-

\* The scheme of this club (which was held at Miles’ coffee-house in New Palace Yard, Westminster) was, ‘ that all officers of state should be chosen by ballot for a limited time, after which they should resign, and be succeeded by others to be elected in the same manner ; a certain number of members of parliament were, likewise, to be changed annually by rotation.’

don. He likewise conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, constituting him by a new patent Surveyor General of Ireland, and ordering that all the lands of which he had been possessed in May 1659 should be confirmed to him for ever; so that his estate amounted, according to his own account, to six thousand pounds *per ann.*, and from Mount Mangorton, in the county of Kerry, he could see fifteen thousand acres which owed him for their proprietor.

Upon the institution of 'The Royal Society of London,' in 1662, he was elected one of their first Council; and on the renewal of the charter of 'The College of Physicians,' in 1663, though he no longer practised medicine, his name was inserted in the list of the Fellows. About this time, also, he gave a fresh proof of his genius for mechanics and his skill in navigation; having invented a double-bottomed ship, to sail against wind and tide, which performed her first voyage very expeditiously, from Dublin to Holyhead, in July 1664. The Earl of Ossory, and several other persons of distinction, embarked in her upon her return, and repeated the experiment within the bar near Dublin. In a hard gale she put out to sea with a prime Dutch sailer, which was thought to be overset, while Sir William's vessel did not incline above half a foot. She was therefore called 'the Pad of the sea,' and in sailing, carriage, and security appeared unrivalled; but, on her return to Dublin from a second voyage, she was destroyed by a violent storm, in which a fleet of seventy sail perished. Of this vessel he presented to the Royal Society a model, which is still pre-

served in their repository :\* he likewise communicated to them, in 1665, a discourse on ship-building, containing some curious secrets in that art. But this piece was lost to the public, being withdrawn by Lord Brounker, the President of that learned body in 1682 (though the author was then living) under the pretence, that ‘it was too great an arcanum of state to be commonly perused.’

Sir William Petty employed great part of his time for several years in attempts to improve upon his plan : and after having made upward of twenty models at considerable expense, he at length completed a vessel, which on it's public exhibition however in the harbour of Dublin, in December 1684, miserably disappointed every expectation ; though her inventor had confidently asserted, ‘that he would construct passage-boats between Dublin and Chester, which should as regularly go and return on set days, in all weathers, as stage-coaches ! †’

\* It was a maxim of his, in all matters of science, “never to talk of any thing in the general, but always to mention *time*, *place*, *measure*, or *weight* in precise terms.”

† The unfortunate Mr. Day had, probably, studied the account of this double-bottomed ship ; and also of the barge invented by Cornelius Drebel, a Dutchman, which was actually rowed under water in the reign of James I. for a considerable time and distance, with the greatest security to the persons on board. The error in these extraordinary projects seems to be, the imagining that what is correct in theory, and under favourable circumstances will stand the test of partial experiments, can be carried into universal practice. Drebel, Petty, and Day, with every thing advantageously disposed, made each one successful experiment ; but their second demonstrated, in the two latter instances, that the inventors had not made allowance for common accidents, or at least, had not enabled their machines



But this mortification did not deter him from continuing his studies in naval architecture during the remainder of his life. He transmitted several ingenious essays on the subject to the Royal Society; and his Treatise on Naval Philosophy, addressed to the Earl (afterward Duke) of Marlborough, was published after his death.

In 1666, Sir William published his '*Verbum Sapienti*,'\* containing an Account of the Wealth and Expenses of England, and the Method of raising Taxes in the most equal Manner: showing, likewise, that England can bear the Charge of four Millions annually, when the Occasions of Government require it.† Though this, however, was his first tract comprehensively exhibiting the nature of the public revenues, his celebrated treatise on Political Arithmetic, it appears, was presented by him to Charles

to surmount them. Day's vessel had a false bottom, standing on feet like a butcher's block: this, which contained the ballast, was attached by screws to the bottom, and it was conceived could at all times, when deemed necessary, by turning a few pegs be disengaged and left behind. He had actually accomplished his object in a Norwich market-boat fitted for his purpose, in which he sunk himself thirty feet under water in Yarmouth Roads, and after remaining twenty four hours below, rose to the surface with great facility: but his next experiment at Plymouth proved fatal. On the twenty eighth of June 1774, he went down in twenty two fathom water and never re-appeared, nor could any thing be ascertained concerning the vessel.

\* See the Extracts.

† What would this illustrious man have said, if any one could have told him that on a future day, within a century and a half, a descendent of his (and worthy of his great ancestor) the present Marquis of Lansdowne should have presided over the finances of his country, when she would be able to sustain a peace-establishment of nearly twenty times that amount!

H. in manuscript upon his restoration.\* He had, likewise, published a small piece on a more confined plan in 1662, entitled, ‘A Treatise on Taxes and Contributions: showing the Nature and Measures of Crown-Lands, Assessments, Customs, Poll-monies, Lotteries, Benevolences, &c.” chiefly calculated to answer the purposes of the court; but his ‘*Verbum Sapienti*,’ as furnishing a general display of his practical abilities, was well received from it’s novelty, there being at that time scarcely any work extant upon the property and resources of the kingdom.

In 1667, he married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Hardres Waller of Castle Town in the county of Limerick, and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, Baronet; and from this time he engaged in various pursuits, which evinced the activity of his extensive genius, in the promotion both of the national interests and of his own. He opened lead-mines, introduced a trade for timber, set up iron-works, and established a pilchard-fishery, all in the county of Kerry; making frequent visits to Ireland, and promoting the institution of a Philosophical Society at Dublin, of which he was elected President in 1684. For this body he compiled a catalogue of cheap and simple experiments, adapted to it’s infant state; and in his ‘*Supplex Philosophia*’ drew up a description of forty five philosophical instruments, which he subsequently sent to them as a present from London.

In 1685, he made his will,† which is as re-

\* This perhaps accounts for the honours and favours conferred upon him by that Prince, to whom no one could be more acceptable than an author that taught him how to increase his revenues.

† See the Extracts.

markable as any other transaction of his life. Two years afterward, death put a period to his useful labours. He was carried off by a gangrene in his foot, occasioned through the gout. His body was interred, near his parents, in the chancel of Rumsey Church; and over his grave was cut on a plain flat stone, by an illiterate workman, the simple inscription ‘*Here layes Sir William Pety.*’

He was the first financier of this country, who publicly reduced the science of raising and applying the public revenues of the kingdom to a regular system. His writings were numerous upon subjects belonging to the classes of arts and manufactures, particularly on dyeing and the wollen manufactory, most of which are to be found either in the *Philosophical Transactions*, or in the *History of the Royal Society* by Dr. Birch. His *POLITICAL ARITHMETIC* \* is a masterpiece in it's kind, and from the time of it's publication has served as a grammar to young statesmen. The increase of our national debts and taxes, indeed, of our revenue-resources, and of our commerce renders it daily more valuable as a *Vademecum* to modern financiers.

His eldest son was created Baron of Shelburne, in the county of Waterford in Ireland, by William

\* ‘Or a Discourse concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings, Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artisans, Seamen, Soldiers, Public Revenues, Interests, Taxes, Superlucration, Registeries, Banks, Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militias, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. as the same relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France.’ It was published in octavo at London by his son, in 1690, and has been frequently reprinted since.

III. and dying without issue, was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry, who was farther created Viscount Dunkerron in the county of Kerry, and Earl of Shelburne in 1718. The marquise of Lansdowne is now possessed by his representative. A striking example of the establishment of a noble family originating in the talents and industry of a single individual, who after being reduced to such penury in France, as to be obliged "to live for a week or two on three pennyworth of walnuts, hewed out a fortune to himself," and left behind him at his death 6,500*l.* *per ann.* in land, above 45,000*l.* in personal effects, and a plan of demonstrable improvement on his estate, to produce 4,000*l.* *per ann.* in addition. His genius has not been disgraced by his descendents.

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## EXTRACTS.

*The last Will of Sir W. Petty, Knt.*

' In the name of God, Amen. I Sir William Petty, Knt., born at Rumsey in Hantshire, do, revoking all other and former wills, make this my last will and testament; premising the ensuing preface to the same, whereby to express my condition, design, intentions, and desires concerning the persons and things contained in and relating to my said will, for the better expounding any thing which may hereafter seem doubtful therein, and also for justifying on behalf of my children the manner and means of getting and acquiring the estate which I hereby bequeath unto them, exhorting them to improve the same by no

worse negotiations. In the first place I declare and affirm, that at the full age of fifteen years I had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French tongues, the whole body of common arithmetic, the practical geometry and astronomy conducing to navigation, diallings, &c., with the knowledge of several mathematical trades; all which, and having been at the University of Oxon, preferred me to the King's navy, where at the age of twenty years I had gotten up about threescore pounds, with as much mathematics as any of my age was known to have had. With this provision, *anno* 1643, when the civil wars betwixt the King and Parliament grew hot, I went into the Netherlands and France for three years, and having vigorously followed my studies, especially that of medicine, at Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Paris, I returned to Rumsey where I was born, bringing back with me my brother Antony, whom I had bred, with about 10*l*. more than I had carried out of England. With this 70*l*., and my endeavours, in less than four years more I obtained my degree of M. D. in Oxford, and forthwith thereupon to be admitted into the College of Physicians, London, and into several clubs of the virtuous: after all which expenses defrayed, I had left 28*l*.; and in the next two years, being made Fellow of Brazen Nose, and Anatomy Professor in Oxford, and also reader at Gresham College, I advanced my said stock to about 400*l*. and (with 100*l*. more, advanced and given to me to go for Ireland) unto full 500*l*. Upon the 10th of September 1652, I landed at Waterford in Ireland, Physician to the Army, who had suppressed the rebellion begun in 1641, and to the General of the

same, and the head-quarters, at the rate of 20*s. per diem*, at which I continued till June 1559, gaining by my practice 400*l.* a-year above the said salary. About September 1654, I perceiving that the admeasurement of the lands, forfeited by the aforementioned rebellion, and intended to regulate the satisfaction of the soldiers who had suppressed the same, was most insufficiently and absurdly managed: I obtained a contract, dated 11th December 1654, for making the same admeasurement, and by God's blessing so performed the same, as that I gained about 9000*l.* thereby; which with the 500*l.* abovementioned, my salary of 20*s. per diem*, the benefit of my practice, together with 60*l.* given me for an after-survey of the adventurers' land, and 800*l.* more for two years' salary as Clerk of the Council, raised me an estate of about 13,000*l.*, in ready and real money, at a time when without art, interest, or authority men bought as much lands for 10*s.* in real money, as in this year (1685) yields 10*s. per ann.* rent, above his Majesty's quit-rents. Now I bestowed part of the said 13,000*l.* in soldiers' debentures, part in purchasing the Earl of Arundel's house and garden in Lothbury, London, and part I kept in cash to answer emergencies: hereupon I purchased lands in Ireland, with soldiers' debentures, bought at above the market-rates, great part whereof I lost by the Court of Innocents *anno* 1663; and built the said garden, called Token House Yard, in Lothbury, which was for the most part destroyed by the dreadful fire, *anno* 1666. Afterward, *anno* 1667, I married Elizabeth, the relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, Bart.; I set up iron-works and pilchard-fishing in Kerry, and

opened the lead-mines and timber-trade in Kerry; by all which, and some advantageous bargains, and with living under my income, I have at the making this my will the real and personal estate following: viz. a large house and four tenements in Rumsey, with four acres of meadow upon the causeway, and about four acres of arable in the fields, called Marks and Woolsworth, in all about 30*l. per ann.* Houses in Token House Yard, near Lothbury, London, with a lease in Piccadilly, and the Seven Stars and the Blazing Star in Birching Lane, London, worth about 500*l. per ann.*; beside mortgages upon certain houses in Hog Lane, near Shoreditch in London, and in Erith in Kent, worth about 20*l. per ann.* I have three-fourth parts of the ship Charles, whereof Derych Paine is master, which I value at 80*l. per ann.* As the copper-plates for the maps of Ireland, with the King's privilege, I rate at 100*l. per ann.* (in all, 730*l. per ann.*) I have in Ireland, without the county of Kerry, in lands, remainders, and reversions about 3,100*l. per ann.* I have of neat profits out of the lands and woods of Kerry, 1,100*l. per ann.*, beside iron-work, fishing and lead-mines, and marble-quarries, worth 600*l. per ann.*, in all 4,800*l.* I have as my wife's jointure, during her life, about 850*l. per ann.*; and, for fourteen years after her death, about 200*l. per ann.* I have, by 3,300*l.* at interest, 320*l. per ann.*, in all about 6,700*l. per ann.*

‘ The personal estate is as follows, viz., in chest 6,600*l.*; in the hands of Adam Loftus, 1,296*l.*; of Mr. John Cogs, Goldsmith of London, 1,251*l.* in silver, plate, and jewels: about 3,000*l.* in furniture, goods, pictures, coach-horses, books, and watches;

1,150*l.* per estimate, in all 12,000*l.* I value my three chests of original maps and field-books, the copies of the Downe survey, with the barony-maps, and the chest of distribution-books, with two chests of loose papers relating to the survey, the two great barony-books, and the book of the history of the survey, all together at 2,000*l.* I have due out of Kerry, for arrears of my rent and iron, before the 24th of June 1685, the sum of 1,912*l.*; for the next half year's rent out of my lands in Ireland, my wife's jointure, and England, on or before the 24th of June next, 2,000*l.* Moreover, by arrears due 30th of April 1685, out of all my estate, by estimate, and interest of money, 1,800*l.* By other good debts, due upon bonds and bills at this time, per estimate, 900*l.* By debts, which I call bad, 4,000*l.*; worth perhaps 800*l.* By debts, which I call doubtful, 50,000*l.*; worth perhaps 25,000*l.*, in all 34,412*l.*: and the total of the whole personal estate, 46,412*l.* So as my present income for the year 1685 may be 6,700*l.*, the profits of the personal estate may be 4,641*l.*, and the demonstrable improvement of my Irish estate may be 3,659*l.* per ann., to make in all 15,000*l.* per ann.; in and by all manner of effects abating for bad debts, about 28,000*l.*, whereupon I say in gross, that my real estate or income may be 6,700*l.* per ann., my personal estate about 45,000*l.*, my bad and desperate debts, 30,000*l.* and the improvements may be 4,000*l.* per ann.; in all 15,000*l.* per ann. *ut supra.* Now, my opinion and desire is (if I could effect it, and if I were clear from the law, custom, and all other impediments) to add to my wife's jointure three fourths of what it is now computed at, viz. 637*l.* per ann., to make the whole 1,587*l.* per ann.: which



addition of 637*l.* and 850*l.* being deducted out of the aforementioned 6,700*l.*, leaves 5,113*l.* for my two sons; whereof I would my eldest son should have two thirds, or 3,408*l.*, and the younger 1,705*l.*; and that after their mother's death, the aforesaid addition of 637*l.* should be added in like proportion, making for the eldest 3,832*l.*, and for the youngest 1,916*l.*: and I would, that the improvement of the estate should be equally divided between my two sons; and that of the personal estate (first taking out 10,000*l.* for my only daughter) the rest should be equally divided between my wife and three children: by which method my wife would have 1,587*l.* *per ann.*, and 9,000*l.* in personal effects; my daughter would have 10,000*l.* of the Crame, and 9,000*l.* more with less certainty; my eldest son would have 3,800*l.* *per ann.*, and half the expected improvement, with 9,000*l.* in hopeful effects, over and above his wife's portion; and my youngest son would have the same within 1,900*l.* *per ann.* I would advise my wife in this case, to spend her whole 1,587*l.* *per ann.*, that is to say, on her own entertainment, charity, and munificence, without care of increasing her children's fortunes; and I would she should give away one-third of the abovementioned 9,000*l.* at her death, even from her children, upon any worthy object, and dispose of the other two-thirds to such of her children and grand-children as pleased her best, without regard to any other rule or proportion. In case of either of my three children's death under age, I advise as follows, viz. if my eldest, Charles, die without issue, I would that Henry should have three-fourths of what he leaves, and my daughter Anne

the rest. If Henry die, I would that what he leaves may be equally divided between Charles and Henry.

‘Memorandum. That I think fit to rate the 30,000*l.* desperate debts at 1,000*l.* only, and to give it my daughter, to make her abovementioned 10,000*l.* and 9,000*l.* to be full 20,000*l.*, which is much short of what I have given her younger brother; and the elder brother may have 3,800*l.* *per ann.*; 9000*l.* in money, worth 900*l.* more; 2,000*l.* by improvements; and 1,300*l.* by marriage, to make up the whole to 8,000*l.* *per ann.*, which is very well for the eldest son, as 20,000*l.* for the daughter.’—He then leaves his wife executrix and guardian during her widowhood, and in case of her marriage, her brother James Waller and Thomas Dance; recommending to them and his children to use the same servants and instruments for management of the estate, as were in his life-time, at certain salaries to continue during their lives, or until his youngest child should be twenty one years, which would be the 22d of October 1696: after which, his children might put the management of their respective concerns into what hand they pleased. He proceeds:—‘I would not have my funeral charges to exceed 300*l.*, over and above what sum I allow; and give 150*l.* to set up a monument in the church of Rumsey, near where my grandfather, father, and mother were buried, in memory of them, and of all my brothers and sisters. I also give 5*l.* for a stone to be set up in Lothbury church, London, in memory of my brother Antony, there buried about the 18th of October, 1649. I also give 50*l.* for a small monument, to be set up in St. Bride’s church, Dublin, in memory of my son John, and my

near kinsman John Petty; supposing my wife will add thereunto for her excellent son Sir William Fenton, Bart., who was buried there 18th March 1670, 1.; and, if I myself be buried in any of the said three places, I would have 100l. shall be bestowed on a monument for me in any other place, where I shall die. As for legacies for the poor, I am at a stand. As for beggars by trade and election, I give them nothing. As for impotents by the hand of God, the public ought to maintain them. As for those, who have been bred to no calling nor estate, they should be put upon their kindred: As for those who can get no work, the magistrate should cause them to be employed, which may be well done in Ireland, where is fifteen acres of improveable land for every head: prisoners for crimes, by the king; for debt, by their prosecutors. As for those who compassionate the sufferings of any object, let them relieve themselves by relieving such sufferers, that is, give them alms *pro re natá*; and for God's sake relieve those several species abovementioned, where the abovementioned obligees fail in their duties; wherefore I am contented that I have assisted all my poor relations, and put many into a way of getting their own bread, and have laboured in public works, and by inventions have sought out real objects of charity: and do hereby conjure all, who partake of my estate, from time to time to do the same at their peril. Nevertheless, to answer custom, and to take the surer side, I give 20l. to the most wanting of the parish wherein I die. As for the education of my children, I would that my daughter might marry in Ireland, desiring that such a sum as I have left her might not be carried out of Ireland. I wish that my

eldest son may get a gentleman's estate in England, which by what I have gotten already, intend to purchase, and by what I presume he may have with a wife, may amount to between 2,000*l.* and 3,000*l.* *per ann.*, and by some office he may get there, together with an ordinary superlucration, may reasonably be expected; so as I design my youngest son's trade and employment to be the prudent management of our Irish estate for himself and his elder brother, which I suppose his said brother must consider him for. As for myself, I being now about threescore and two years old, I intend to attend the improvement of my lands in Ireland, and to get in the many debts owing unto me; and to promote the trade of iron, lead, marble, fish, and timber, whereof my estate is capable: and as for studies and experiments, I think now to confine the same to the anatomy of the people and political arithmetic; as also to the improvement of ships, land-carriages, guns, and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the studies of other men. As for religion, I die in the profession of that faith, and in the practice of such worship, as I find established by the law of my country; not being able to believe what I myself please, nor to worship God better than by doing as I would be done unto, and observing the laws of my country, and expressing my love and honour to Almighty God by such signs and tokens, as are understood to be such by the people with whom I live, God knowing my heart even without any at all; and thus begging the Divine Majesty to make me what he would have me to be, both as to faith and good works, I willingly resign my soul into his hands, relying only on his infinite mercy and the

merits of my Saviour for my happiness after this life; where I expect to know and see God more clearly, than by the study of the Scriptures and of his works I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O Lord, an easy passage to thyself, that as I have lived in thy fear, I may be known to die in thy favour. Amen.'

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## POLITICAL ANATOMY OF IRELAND.

### CHAP. V.

*'Of the future Settlement of Ireland, Prorogation of Rebellions, and it's Union with England.'*

'The English invaded Ireland about five hundred years since; at which time, if the Irish were in number 1,200,000, *anno* 1641, they were but 600,000 in number two hundred years ago, and not above 300,000 at the time of their invasion; for 300,000 people will, by the ordinary course of generation, become 1,200,000 in five hundred years; allowance being made for the extraordinary effects of epidemical diseases, famines, wars, &c.

'There is at this day no monument or real argument, that when the Irish were first invaded, they had any stone-housing at all, any money, any foreign trade; nor any learning but the legends of the saints, psalters, missals, rituals, &c.; nor geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, enginery, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the least use of navigation or the art military.

'Sir John Davys hath expressed much wit and learning, in giving the causes why Ireland was in no measure reduced to English government, till in Queen

Elizabeth's reign, and since; and withal offers several means, whereby what yet remains to be done may be still effected.

‘ The conquest made by the English, and described in the preamble of the Act of Parliament passed *anno* 1662 for the settlement of Ireland, gave means for any thing that had been reasonable of that kind; but their forfeiters being abroad, and suffering with his Majesty from the same usurping hands, made some diversion.

‘ Wherefore (*rebus sic stantibus*) what is now to be done is the question, viz. what may be done by natural possibility, if authority saw it fit?

‘ Some furious spirits have wished that the Irish would rebel again, that they might be put to the sword; but I declare that motion to be not only impious and inhuman, but withal frivolous and pernicious, even to them who have rashly wished for those occasions.

‘ That the Irish will not easily rebel again, I believe from the memory of their former successes, especially of the last, had not many providences interposed, and withal from the consideration of these following particulars, viz:

1. That the British Protestants and Church have three-fourths of all the lands; five-sixths of all the housing; nine-tenths of all the housing in walled towns and places of strength; two-thirds of the foreign trade: that six of eight of all the Irish live in a brutish nasty condition, as in cabins, with neither chimney, door, stairs, nor window; feed chiefly upon milk and potatoes, whereby their spirits are not disposed for war; and that although there be in Ireland eight Papists for three

others, yet there are far more soldiers and soldier-like men of this latter and smaller number, than of the former.

‘ That his Majesty, who formerly could do nothing for and upon Ireland; but by the help of England, hath now a revenue upon the place to maintain, if he please, 7,000 men in arms, beside a Protestant militia of 25,000 more, the most whereof are expert in war.

‘ That the Protestants have housing enough with places of strength within five miles of the sea-side to receive, and protect, and harbour every man, woman, and child belonging to them; and have also places of strength of their own property so situate in all parts of Ireland, to which they can easily travel the shortest day of the year.

‘ That being able to secure their persons, even upon all sudden emergencies, they can be easily supplied out of England with food sufficient to maintain them, till they have burnt 160,000 of their afore-described cabins, not worth 50,000*l.*, destroyed stacks and haggards of corn, and disturbed their tillage, which the embodied British can soon and easily achieve.

‘ That a few ships of war, whereof the Irish have none, nor no skill or practice of navigation, can hinder their relief from all foreign help.

‘ That few foreigners can help them if they would. But that none, not the King of France, can gain advantage by so doing, even though he succeeded. For England hath constantly lost these five hundred years by their meddling with Ireland. And at this day, than when Ireland was never so rich and splendid, it were the advantage of the English to abandon their

whole interest in that country, and fatal to any other nation to take it, as hath been elsewhere (as I think) demonstrated; and the advantage of the landlords of England, to give them the equivalent of what they should so quit out of their own estates in England.

‘ Lastly, let the Irish know that there are, ever were, and will be, men discontented with their present conditions in England, and ready for any exploit and change, more than are sufficient to quell any insurrection they can make and abide by.

‘ Wherefore, declining all military means of settling and securing Ireland in peace and plenty, what we offer shall tend to the transmitting of one people into the other, and the thorough Union of interests upon natural and lasting principles; of which I shall enumerate several, though seemingly never so uncouth and extravagant.

‘ 1. If Henry II. had or could have brought over all the people of Ireland into England, declining the benefit of their land; he had fortified, beautified, and enriched England, and done real kindness to the Irish. The same work is near four times as hard now to be done as then: but it might be done, even now, with advantage to all parties.

‘ 2. Whereas there are now 300,000 British, and 800,000 Papists, whereof 600,000 live in a wretched way abovementioned: if an exchange was made of but about 200,000 Irish, and the like number of British brought over in their room, then the natural strength of the British would be equal to that of the Irish; but their political and artificial strength three times as great, and so visible, that the Irish would never stir upon a national or religious account.



3. There are, among the 600,000 abovementioned of the poor Irish, not above 20,000 of unmarried marriageable women; nor would above 2000 *per ann.* grow and become such. Wherefore, if one half of the said women were in one year, and the other half the next transported into England, and disposed one to each parish, and as many English brought back and married to the Irish, as would improve their dwelling but to an house and garden of three pounds' value, the whole work of natural transmutation and union would in four or five years be accomplished.

‘ The charge of making the exchange would not be 20,000*l.* *per ann.*, which is about six weeks' pay of the present or late armies in Ireland.

‘ If the Irish must have priests, let the number of them, which is now between two and three thousand secular and regulars, be reduced to the competent number of one thousand, which is eight hundred souls to the patronage of each priest; which should be known persons, and Englishmen, if it may be. So as that when the priests who govern the conscience, and the women who influence other powerful appetites, shall be English, both of whom being in the bosom of the men, it must be that no massacring of English, as heretofore, can happen again. Moreover, when the language of the children shall be English, and the whole economy of the family English, viz. diet, apparel, &c., the transmutation will be very easy and quick.

‘ Add hereunto, that if both kingdoms were under one legislative power and parliament, the members whereof should be proportionable in power and wealth of each nation, there would be no danger such

a parliament should do any thing to the prejudice of the English interest in Ireland; nor could the Irish ever complain of partiality, when they shall be freely and proportionably represented in all legislatures.

‘ The inconveniences of the Not-union, and absurdities, seem to be these, viz:

‘ 1. It is absurd, that Englishmen born, sent over into Ireland by the commissions of their own King, and there sacrificing their lives for the King’s interest and succeeding in his service, should therefore be accounted aliens, foreigners, and also enemies, such as were the Irish before Henry the VIIth’s time; whom if an Englishman had then killed, he had suffered nothing for it: for it is but indulgence and connivance, that now the same is not still in force. For such, formerly, was the condition of Irishmen; and that of Englishmen is now the same, otherwise than as custom has relieved them.

‘ It is absurd, that the inhabitants of Ireland, naturally and necessarily bound to obey their sovereign, should not be permitted to know how, or what the same is: i. e. whether the parliament of England, or that of Ireland; and in what cases the one, and in what the other. Which uncertainty is, or may be, made, a pretence for any disobedience.

‘ It is absurd, that Englishmen in Ireland should either be aliens there, or else be bound to laws, in the making whereof they are not represented.

‘ It is absurd, if the legislative power be in Ireland, that the final judgement of causes between man and man should be in England; viz. that writs of error should remove causes out of Ireland to the King’s Bench in England: that the final determination of Admiralty-causes ecclesiastical should be, also, ended

in England: nor that men should know, whether the Chancery of England have jurisdiction in Ireland; and whether the decrees of Chancery in one Chancery can be executed in the other.

‘ As for inconveniences, it is one, that we should do to trade between the two kingdoms, as the Spaniards in the West Indies do to all other nations; for which cause, all other nations have war with them there.

‘ And that a ship trading from Ireland into the islands of America should be forced to unlade the commodities shipped from Ireland in England, and afterwards bring them home; thereby necessitating the owners of such goods to run unnecessary hazard and expenses.

‘ It is inconvenient, that the same king’s subjects should pay customs as aliens, passing from one part of the same, their own king’s territories, to another.

‘ The chief objection against the remedy of these evils is;

‘ That his Majesty would by the Union lose much of his double customs, which being true, let us see what the same amounts unto; and if it be sufficient to hinder the remedy of these evils, and if it be irreparable by some other way.

‘ *Anno* 1664, which was the best year of trade that hath been these many years in Ireland, when neither plague nor wars impeached it, and when men were generally disposed to splendor and liberality, and when the act for hindering cattle coming out of Ireland into England was not yet made, nor that made for unlading in England ships bound from America into Ireland; I say in that year the customs upon exported and imported commodities, between

Ireland and England was but ——— but not one-sixth thereof, which since, how easily may it be added to the other charges upon England and Ireland, which are together perhaps 150,000*l.* *per ann.*?

‘ 2. If it be for the good of England to keep Ireland a distinct kingdom, why do not the predominant party in parliament (suppose the western members) make England beyond Trent another kingdom, under commerce, and take tolls and customs upon the borders? Or why was there ever union between England and Wales, the good effects and fruits whereof were never questioned? And why may not the entire kingdom of England be farther cantonised for the advantage of parties? .

‘ As for the practice: the Peers of Ireland assembled in parliament may depute so many of their number, as make the one-sixth part of the Peers of England, to be called by writ into the Lords’ House of England; and the Commons in Ireland, assembled in like manner, may depute the like proportion of other members to sit with the Commons of England, the King and that House admitting of them.

‘ But if the parliament of England be already the legislative power of Ireland, why may they not call a competent number out of Ireland, as aforesaid, or in some other more convenient manner?

‘ All these shifts and expedients are necessary but for the first time, until the matter be agreed upon by both nations in some one parliament.

‘ It is supposed, the wealth of Ireland is about the eighth or tenth part of that of England; and the King’s revenue in both kingdoms seems about that proportion.

*Verbum Sapienti* (attached to it).

‘ CHAP. IX.

‘ *Motives to the quiet bearing of extraordinary Taxes.*

‘ Having showed how great and glorious things may be done with no less difficulty, than what one-fourth of the King’s subjects do already endure; I offer these farther reasons to quiet men’s minds, in case this utmost 250,000*l. per mensem* should be ever demanded upon this Holland war.

‘ 1. That of all naval expense, not one-twentieth is for foreign commodities; nor need it be one-fortieth, if the people would do their part, and the governors direct them the nearest ways.

‘ 2. That stoppage of trade is considerable, but as one to eight; for we exchange not above five millions worth *per ann.* for our forty.

‘ 3. That the expense of the King, &c. being about 400,000*l. per ann.*, is but one-hundredth part of the expense of the nation, who all have the pleasure and honour of it.

‘ 4. That the money of the nation being but about five millions and a half, and the earning of the same twenty-five, it is not difficult for them to increase their money a million *per ann.* by an easy advance of their industry, applied to such manufactures as will fetch money from abroad.

‘ 5. The wealth of England lies in land and people, so as they may make five parts of six of the whole; but the wealth of Holland lies more in money, housing, shipping, and wares. Now supposing England three

times as rich as Holland in land and people (as it is) and Holland twice as rich as we in other particulars : (as it scarce is) we are still, upon the balance of the whole, nearly twice as rich as they : of which I wish those, that understand Holland, would consider and calculate.

‘ 6. There are in England above four acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land, for every soul in it; and those so fertile, as that the labour of one man in tilling them is sufficient to get a bare livelihood for above ten : so as it is for want of discipline, that any poverty appears in England, and that any are hanged or starved upon that account.

#### ‘ CHAP. X.

‘ *How to employ the People, and the End thereof.*

‘ We said, that half the people by a very gentle labour might much enrich the kingdom, and advance it’s honour, by setting apart largely for public uses : but the difficulty is, upon what shall they employ themselves ?

‘ To which I answer in general, upon producing food and necessaries for the whole people of the land by few hands: whether by labouring harder, or by introducing the compendium and facilitations of art, which is equivalent to what men vainly hoped from polygamy. Forasmuch as he, that can do the work of five men by one, effects the same as the begetting of four adult workmen. Nor is such advantage worth fewer years’ purchase than that of lands, or what we esteem likest to perpetual. Now the making necessaries cheap, by the means aforesaid, and not by raising more of them than can be spent

whilst they are good, will necessitate others to buy them with much labour of other kinds. For if one man could raise corn enough for the whole better than any one man, then that man would have the natural monopoly of corn, and could exact more labour for it in exchange, than if ten others raised ten times as much corn as is necessary; which would make other labour so much the dearer, as men were less under the need of engaging upon it.

‘ 2. By this way we might recover our lost cloth-trade, which by the same the Dutch got from us. By this way the East Indians furnish us, from the other end of the world, with linen cheaper than ourselves can make them with what grows at our own doors. By this means we might fetch flax from France, and yet furnish them with linen (that is) if we make no more than we can vend, but so much with the fewest hands and cheapest food, which will be also when food is raised by fewer hands than elsewhere.

‘ 3. I answer, generally, we should employ ourselves by raising such commodities, as would yield and fetch in money from abroad; for that would supply any wants of ours from the same, or any other place at all times: which stores of domestic commodities could not effect, whose value is to call a temporary (i. e.) which are of value but *pro hìc et nunc*.

‘ 4. But ‘ When should we rest from this great industry?’ I answer, when we have certainly more money than any of our neighbour-states (though never so little) both in arithmetical and geometrical proportion, i. e., when we have more years’ provision aforehand, and more present effects.

‘ 5. ‘ What then shall we busy ourselves about?’ I

answer, in ratiocinations upon the works and will of God, to be supported not only by the indolency but also by the pleasure of the body, and not only by the tranquillity but serenity of the mind: and this exercise is the natural end of man in this world, and that which best disposeth him for his spiritual happiness in that other which is to come. The motions of the mind, being the quickest of all others, afford most variety, wherein is the very form and being of pleasure: and by how much the more we have of this pleasure, by so much the more we are capable of it even *ad infinitum*.'



**GEORGE VILLIERS, THE YOUNGER,  
SECOND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM OF THAT NAME.\***

[1627—1688.]

**T**HIS accomplished courtier, at once the ornament and the disgrace, the envy and the ridicule of his contemporaries, was the son and heir of the unfortunate statesman, the first Duke of Buckingham of the name, whose Life has already been recorded in these volumes. He was born at Wallingford House in Westminster, in 1627, and was little more than sixteen months old at the assassination of his father, “from whom (says Fairfax) he inherited the greatest title, as he did from his mother † the greatest estate, of any subject in England; and from them both so graceful a body, as gave lustre to the ornaments of his mind.” He was educated for some years, under the direction of his mother, by private tutors at home, and at a proper age sent with his brother Lord Fran-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Fairfax’s *Memoirs of the Life of G. Villiers*, 1758; Burnet’s *History of his Own Times*, and *Biographia Britannica*.

† Lady Catharine Manners, sole daughter and heiress of Francis Earl of Rutland, through whom Helmsley passed from the male line of the Manners’ family. The present Duke of Rutland is Baron Roos of Hamlake, or Helmsley.

cis Villiers to Trinity College, Cambridge. How long they remained at the University, before they proceeded under the care of a Mr. Salisbury upon their travels, is uncertain; but he did not return to England till after the commencement of the civil war, when he and his brother repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, and distinguished themselves soon afterward by their activity in the royal cause, particularly in storming the Close at Litchfield. For this, the Parliament seized upon their estates, but restored them in consideration of their youth. They were now committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and travelled in France and Italy, where they lived in great state; principally at Florence and Rome, whence however they brought their religion home again, untainted by the doctrines of the Catholic church.\*

In 1648, they appeared again in arms for their Sovereign, under the standard of the Earl of Holland, when he was engaged by Fairfax himself, near Kingston in Surrey. In this action Lord Francis, having had his horse slain under him, placed himself against an oak tree in the highway, and scorning to ask quarter, valiantly defended himself with his sword, till he received nine wounds in his beautiful face and body, thus gallantly falling a victim to his loyalty in the twentieth year of his age.†

\* The preceding Lord Roos not only changed his religion at Rome, but also left his tutor in the Inquisition, for having translated King James' 'Admonition to Princes,' into Latin, and Duplessis Mornay's 'Book of the Mass' into English.

† A few days before his death, this noble youth had ordered his steward to bring him in a list of his debts, which he so secured upon his estate, that they were discharged on its seizure by the parliament. His body was carried by water to York

The Duke, with great difficulty, escaped to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, as did also the Earl of Holland, who was there taken and beheaded. The next morning his Grace finding the house surrounded, and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, mounted himself and his servants; and resolutely charging the enemy slew the commanding officer, fought his way through the corps, and subsequently joined the Prince of Wales, as he lay in the Downs with the ships which had deserted from the Earl of Warwick. The Parliament now required him to surrender within the space of forty days; and on his refusal confiscated his estate, amounting to 25,000*l.* *per ann.* Upon this he retired to Holland, and subsisted for some time on the sale of his pictures\* at Antwerp; previously to which, Parliament proposed to him to compound for his forfeiture at 20,000*l.*, but he declined the offer.

In 1651, Buckingham who had attended Charles II. on his expedition to Scotland, and fought by his side at Worcester with signal bravery, though his Majesty had refused before the battle to transfer to him the command from the Scottish General, had the good fortune once more to escape from the enemy (engaged in

House in the Strand, and being there embalmed, was deposited in his father's vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

\* This costly collection, purchased by his father in Italy through the friendly assistance of Sir Henry Wotton and other English gentlemen, on the walls of York House had engrossed the admiration of connoisseurs; and had thence been secretly conveyed to him by John Traylman, a trusty old servant who had the care of that mansion. The '*Ecce Homo*' of Titian was singly valued at 5000*l.*, including portraits of all the great persons of his time. It was purchased by one of the Arch-dukes, and is now in the castle of Prague.

the plunder of the royal camp) disguised as a labourer, and after surmounting various obstacles reached Holland, where he was at first mistaken for the King. He soon afterward repaired to his Majesty, who with still more alarming hazard had arrived in France.

In recompense for these faithful services, Charles created him a Knight of the Garter, and rejoiced to receive him at his exiled court: but his Grace perceiving no great prospect of employment in the event of a restoration, as he was not in favour with the Earl of Clarendon and other persons of distinction about the King, took some steps, about this time, which not a little alarmed the Cavaliers. Having entered as a volunteer in the French army, he highly signalised himself at the sieges of Arras and Valenciennes; and his military reputation being now thoroughly established, he passed privately over into England, paid his addresses to the daughter of General Fairfax, and with her father's consent married her. Though this was a match of interest, as the Parliament had bestowed upon Fairfax the greatest part of his Grace's estate in discharge of his arrears, \* it was

\* The property about Helmsley, in particular, had been bestowed upon this officer, as a salve for the wound which he received there, a shot through the body.

From his different grants, we are told, he had the means, as he had also the inclination, to behave most nobly. To the Countess of Derby he generously transmitted all her rents of the Isle of Man, which was more (as she confessed) than any of her servants had done. He lived in York House, where every chamber adorned with the arms of Villiers and Manners, lions and peacocks, reminded him of his connexion with the noble ex-owner, the two sons of Sir Guy Fairfax having married two of the daughters of an Earl of Rutland; and he was truly glad to find his daughter not proof to the grace and beauty of her gallant

considered by his old friends as an open desertion of the royal cause. Cromwell, on the other hand, was so much displeased at the alliance, that he sent the Duke to the Tower. Hence arose a quarrel between Fairfax and the Protector, terminated however soon afterward by the death of the latter. But Buckingham still remained a kind of state-prisoner at Windsor Castle, where his friend Abraham Cowley was his constant companion, till after the resignation of Richard Cromwell, when he was set at liberty.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the extraordinary address of Villiers, than his having rendered himself equally acceptable to the rigidly devout Fairfax, and to the dissolute and immoral Charles II. Upon his enlargement he retired to Appleton, where his father-in-law, then Lord Fairfax, received him with open arms: and there he resided with his wife till the Restoration, studiously conforming himself to the sober arrangements of her austere connexions.

He now understood, says Mr. Fairfax, the meaning of the paradox, *Dimidium plus toto*, with which he used to pose young scholars; and found by experience that the half or third part of his own estate, which he at present enjoyed, was more than the whole which he possessed afterward. Now he lived a most regular life; no courtships but to his own wife, not so much as to his after-beloved and costly mistress, the philosopher's stone.

Soon after the Restoration, he recovered his whole estate, which enabled him to appear with great splendor at the coronation, and to render himself

suitor. They were married at Nun Appleton in 1657, a mansion built by Fairfax, where he exercised a magnificent hospitality.

universally popular by his hospitality. Being obliged among others to give entertainment to several French noblemen, in return for the civilities which he had received during his exile, he was enticed by them to game, with such ill success that his estate would speedily have been swallowed up, had he not taken a sudden resolution (to which, it is said, amidst all his dissipation he steadfastly adhered) to discontinue every species of play for the future.

His political advancement, however, was obstructed as much as possible by the Earl of Clarendon, and the Duke of Ormond his sworn foe. At first he was only made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and sworn of the Privy Council: he next obtained the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, and finally that of Master of the Horse. But it does not appear, that he possessed any distinguished abilities as a statesman: on the contrary, it is affirmed that he had neither wisdom, prudence, nor steadiness; and that he could not possibly have been of the least service to any court but that of Charles II., in which vice and buffoonery were the characteristics of the monarch and his chief favourites. The talent of mimicry Buckingham possessed in a high degree; and that first of debauchees, Rochester, joining his pernicious talents to those of the Duke, these inseparable companions cheated the King of his most grave and able advisers. Both of them it appears occasionally, though in different ways, grew mischievous as well as witty, and incurred the royal displeasure. Rochester's tricks, indeed, were of too low and trivial a description for the dignity of history; but the misconduct of Buckingham was of a public nature, and properly investigated, would probably have been found to in-

volve no less than treason to his king and country. He was accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the French, as well as with disaffected persons,\* to whom he addressed letters tending to excite sedition,† particularly in the navy, and even to engage accomplices in a conspiracy for seizing the Tower of London. This being laid before the King in council in 1666, he was dismissed from all his employments. The Serjeant at Arms likewise was sent to his house, to take him into custody : but he defended it by force, till he found means to escape ; upon which a proclamation was issued, requiring him to surrender by a certain day. After more than twelve months' concealment however, upon his offered submission the charge of treason was dropped, and he was reinstated at the council-board, and in the bed-chamber. Henceforward, he gained such an ascendancy over his royal

\* In consequence, it is said, of having been refused the presidency of the North.

† From Lord Clarendon, indeed (who however in this instance, on account of the enmity between himself and Buckingham, must be regarded as suspicious authority) it appears, that by tampering with horoscopists, or dabblers in judicial astrology and the calculation of nativities, Dr. Heydon, &c. he had been led to aspire to the throne, as "destined for him by the stars." The liveliness of his wit, and the sallies of his imagination, bore him away upon all occasions, and with that obedience to his passions which is due only to reason, he not unfrequently insulted even his Sovereign himself ; assiduously multiplying and magnifying the royal faults in the eyes of the people, who doted upon his Grace with all their best affections. The story of one Braythwaite, who from being a confidant of Cromwell's and a member of the Council of State had, after some time spent in exile, passed into Buckingham's service as his steward, the ineffectual crimination of the Duke, with Clarendon's subsequent dismissal, impeachment, and flight in 1667, are detailed by the Ex-chancellor at considerable length in his Works.

master, that at his instigation even Clarendon himself was removed.

He now took the lead in administration, at the head of the cabinet-council stiled 'the Cabal,' which was formed in 1670. The same year also he went Ambassador to France, in order to break the Triple Alliance, which had been the boast of Sir William Temple; and, if we may trust Antony Wood, his person and his errand were so acceptable to the French Monarch, that he entertained him very nobly for several days together, and presented him with a sword and belt set with diamonds, valued at 40,000 pistoles. But nothing could be more unpopular in England, where his embassy was regarded as calculated to ruin the Dutch, and to destroy the Protestant interest in Europe. Hence, upon his return, his enemies being loud in their complaints against him, he is strongly suspected of a base attempt to take off the Duke of Ormond, his old adversary, by the hand of Colonel Blood.\*

In 1671, the Duke was installed Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and the same year his celebrated comedy, entitled 'The Rehearsal,' was first brought upon the stage. The uncommon applause, with which it was received, appears to have been not more than it deserved, though this was by many at the time ascribed to the high rank of its author; as it has since constantly engaged the attention of the public, and when the principal character is well sustained,

\* The Earl of Ossory, Ormond's son (it is said) was so convinced of Buckingham's guilt, that in the King's presence he told him, 'if his father should come to an untimely end, he would consider him as the author, and most assuredly pistol him, even although he stood behind the royal chair.'



invariably attracts crowded audiences. It is indeed, as Lord Shaftesbury observes, 'the standard of true comic ridicule.' The foibles and partialities of poets, especially in the dramatic walk, are finely satirised in it: and by Dryden, who was principally aimed at, it was never forgiven. He vindictively returned the compliment by his character of Zimri, in the poem of 'Absalom and Achitophel.'

The only account which we have of the Duke's public conduct in 1671 is, that he was an adviser of the Declaration of Indulgence, by which the penal laws against Dissenters were suspended. The following year, he was joined in a secret commission with the Lords Arlington and Halifax to Louis XIV., then at Utrecht, to concert measures with that Monarch for carrying on a second war against the Dutch: but, on the meeting of Parliament in 1673, a complaint was exhibited against him in the House of Commons, for his share in the mismanagement of affairs. Upon this, he threw the blame of the Dutch war on Lord Arlington, and vindicated himself with so much ability from the charges alleged, that the prosecution against him was laid aside.

Henceforward, his Grace lost all favour at Court, and began openly to oppose the measures of administration. In 1675, he brought a Bill into the House of Lords for tolerating the Dissenters: and he was also one of the Managers for that House in their celebrated conference with the Commons, respecting the Lords' jurisdiction, in the case of Dr. Shirley's appeal\* from the Court of Chancery against Sir John Fagg.

\* This appeal against a brother-member the Commons so

At this conference the debates ran so high; that Charles II., apprehensive of the consequences, prorogued the Parliament to a term exceeding twelve months, and thence called 'The Long Prorogation.' On it's meeting again in February 1677, Buckingham made a florid speech, as soon as the King had left the House, tending to show that 'his Majesty in the late prorogation had exceeded the bounds of the royal prerogative; that the parliament then assembled had no right to sit, being in fact dissolved; and that a new parliament, therefore, ought to be summoned.' In this declaration he was supported by the Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; and as they strenuously defended their assertion, the following day it was moved and carried by the ministry, that they should be committed to the Tower. In that prison the Earl of Shaftesbury continued upward of a year; but Buckingham and the others, upon making their submission in a petition to the King, were quickly released. Yet this did not conciliate his Grace to the Earl of Danby, who was then at the head of the Treasury. Upon the discovery of the Popish plot, by Dr. Tongue and Titus Oates, he was zealous in the prosecution of the accused, and became greatly instrumental to the impeachment of the Lord Treasurer, who only escaped farther punishment by pleading the royal pardon. He likewise attempted the removal of the Duke of Lauderdale, by procuring an address from the Commons for that purpose highly resented, that they ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into custody. The speeches both of the Duke, and of the Earl of Shaftesbury, upon this occasion are extant in the 'State-Tracts,' privately printed in the reign of K. Charles II. fol. 1689., and in Buckingham's 'Miscellaneous Works,' 8vo. 1704.

pose. His Majesty, however, not only refused his concurrence, but even took upon himself the vindication of a nobleman, who had held the chief management of the affairs of Scotland during the greater part of his reign.

Though the Tory ministry was discarded in 1679, and a new one, in which even Shaftesbury got himself included, was patched up from a mixture of both parties, Buckingham had given so much personal offence to his Sovereign, by publicly speaking of him every where with contempt, that all the interest of his friends proved ineffectual to restore him to employment; and it is most probable that from this time he gave a loose to dissipation, and lived upon his estate, the greatest part of which he had spent before he died, without engaging any more in national affairs; since we have no farther account of him, as a public character, during the remainder of his life. Of his latter days, the following particulars are related by Mr. Fairfax: Upon the death of the King, he went into the country to his manor-seat at Helmsley in Yorkshire. There he passed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death, as pleasantly and hospitably as ever he had done. He took cold one day after fox-hunting by sitting on the ground, which brought on an ague and fever, of which he died after three days' sickness at a tenant's house in Kirby Moor Side, (a lordship of his own, near Helmsley \*) in the year 1688. Antony Wood:

\* This manor, with York House (previously the property of Lord Francis Villiers) through Fairfax passed again into the family of its rightful owner. On Buckingham's death, it was found to be deeply mortgaged to Sir John Cutler; and from him, or his representatives, was purchased by the founder of the

says, that he died at his house in Yorkshire; but the circumstance of his sitting upon the cold ground, when warm with the chace, renders it highly probable that he was suddenly taken ill, and carried to his tenant's house, which might be an inn. Hence the pathetic reflexions on his death, contained in the following lines of Mr. Pope:

\*     \*     \*

“Behold, what blessings wealth to life can lend!  
 And see, what comfort it affords our end!  
 In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,  
 The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung,  
 On once a flock-bed but repair'd with straw,  
 With tape-tied curtains never meant to draw,  
 The George and Garter dangling from that bed,  
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red—  
 Great VILLIERS lies: alas! how changed from him,  
 That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!  
 Gallant and gay, in Cliefden's proud alcove,  
 The bower of wanton SHREWSBURY and love;  
 Or just as gay at council, in a ring  
 Of mimic'd statesmen and their merry king:  
 No wit to flatter left, of all his store;  
 No fool to laugh at, which he valued more!  
 There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,  
 And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends.”

(*Epistle on the Use of Riches*, 207.)

The character of Buckingham may be collected from the accurate sketch of it drawn by the pencils

Duncombe family, in whose possession the princely property still remains.

\* The following is a literal extract from the Register:

“BURIALS.”

“1687, April 17th. Gorges vilas, Lord duke of bookingham.”

A Letter has been printed from the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, saying that, ‘passing through Kirby Moor-side, he attended accidentally the Duke's last moments: that he

of those great masters of descriptive poetry, Dryden and Pope; for, though the former was his professed enemy on account of 'the Rehearsal,' yet, upon a comparison of Zimri with Bishop Burnet's account of his Grace, the picture does not seem to be very greatly overcharged.

\* \* \* \*

"Some of their chiefs were princes of the land:  
 In the first rank of these did ZIMRI stand—  
 A man so various, that he seem'd to be  
 Not one, but all mankind's epitome:  
 Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,  
 Was every thing by turns and nothing long;  
 But in the course of one revolving moon  
 Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon:  
 Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,  
 Beside ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.  
 Blest madman! who could every hour employ  
 With something new to wish, or to enjoy!  
 railing, and praising, were his usual themes;  
 And both, to show his judgement, in extremes:  
 So over-violent, or over-civil,  
 That every man with him was God or Devil.  
 In squandering wealth was his peculiar art;  
 Nothing went unrewarded, but desert.  
 Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late:  
 He had his jest, and they had his estate.  
 He laugh'd himself from court; then sought relief  
 By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief:  
 For, spite of him, the weight of business fell  
 On Absalom (*Monmouth*) and wise Achitophel (*Shaftesbury*).  
 Thus wicked but in will, of means bereft,  
 He left not faction, but of that was left."

(*Absalom and Achitophel.*)

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died April 15, 1687, aged 60; and having no person to direct his funeral, and the Earl being obliged to pursue his journey, he engaged — Gibson, Esq. (lineal ancestor of the Robinsons,

His bitterest enemies, it has been observed, acknowledge him to have possessed great vivacity and singular powers of ridicule, but his warmest friends have never claimed for him the possession of a single virtue. His generosity was profuseness, his wit malevolence, his very talents caprice, and the gratification of his grossest and worst passions throughout life his single object. Of this, a striking instance is recorded, in his neglect of the distressed Butler.

As a writer, however, he stands in a totally different point of view. There the poet surmounts the libertine. 'The Rehearsal' alone will preserve his memory, as long as language shall be understood, or true wit maintain its claim to admiration.

"With regard to his person," says Verville, in his scarce work entitled '*Memoires de la Cour d'Angleterre*,' "he was one of the finest gentlemen that Europe ever saw. His conversation was easy and charming, serious when occasion required it, but generally facetious and turning upon mirth: he had a genius, that fitted him for the highest posts of the state; but pleasure, which was his predominant passion, made him ridicule all manner of business, and as ill habits are not easily left off, this at long run made him incapable of it. So strange a neglect of himself and affairs exposed him to the villainy of the city-usurers, who cheated him of the greater part of his estate, and made an incredible advantage of his careless temper. In his

lately residing at Welburn, an ancient mansion in that neighbourhood) to see him decently interred.

As to the scene of his death, Pope may have been misinformed in some slight particulars. There is no tradition, that the house ever was an inn; and the unchanged deal floor of the chamber, in which Villiers expired, is still shown to the curious.

younger days no nobleman of England had ventured more for the service of his prince, whom he had accompanied in the fatal battle of Worcester; as at the Restoration, and some years afterward, no man appeared with more warmth and zeal for the prerogative. In the latter part of his life, he altered his conduct, and was a vehement assertor of the privileges of parliament and the liberty of the subject. Whether this new change in him was owing to any real alteration of his sentiments, or whether it proceeded only from his being disgusted with the court, it is certain he suffered himself to run into the contrary extreme, and opposed the King in some junctures where he ought not to have appeared. This reflected severely upon his gratitude, no man having such personal obligations to the royal family as himself, since Charles I. ran the risk of disobliging his parliament, so fatal afterward to his affairs, rather than abandon his father to his enemies of the Lower House who were resolved to ruin him. But gratitude is too tender a plant, to flourish in the English climate. At his Majesty's return, the Duke found himself possessed of one of the most considerable estates in the kingdom, which he ruined by his profuse way of living; though his negligence and the vast confidence, he reposed in the integrity of his city-friends and servants, ruined it much more than his profuseness. Great as his fortune was, he affected a magnificence much above it: what wonder is it then, when such insatiable drainers as buildings, music, chemistry, not to mention his amours that were sufficiently expensive to him, exhausted him at once, that his patrimony

sensibly decayed. The most Christian King showed him higher respect than ever any foreign Ambassador was known to receive; and as he knew him to be an *homme de plaisir*, he entertained him accordingly, when he came in the year 1677, to break the famous Triple League. Nothing could be so welcome to the court of Versailles, as the message he came about; for which reason a regale was prepared for him, that might have befitted the magnificence of the Roman Emperors, when Rome flourished in it's highest grandeur. What sits worst upon his character, and shows he took a delight not only to cross his master in his politic affairs, but even in his amours, it is observable, that if he could not enjoy his mistresses he would render them suspected, and at last get them discarded; a living testimony of which truth is the Duchess of Cleveland. In short, having by his irregular conduct utterly ruined himself at court, and his prodigious debts making him uneasy to the city-harpies, he was forced to retire into Yorkshire, where he made an exit very unworthy of the great Duke of Buckingham, who if he had pleased, might have cut as brilliant a figure in history as any nobleman of this age."

He had no children by his Duchess, so that in him the title, as connected with the family of Villiers, became extinct. It was, subsequently, transferred to that of Sheffield.

His dramatic pieces, beside 'The Rehearsal,' are 'The Chances,' a comedy altered from Fletcher, and still occasionally represented; 'The Restoration, or Right will take place,' a tragi-comedy; 'The Battle of Sedgemoor,' a farce; and 'The Militant Couple;



or, *The Husband may thank Himself,* a fragment. His other poetical writings consist of small poems, complimentary and satirical. One is entitled, '*The Lost Mistress,*' a complaint against the Countess of Shrewsbury, as it is supposed. This abandoned woman was so dead to all sense of shame, and even of humanity, that she is charged with having excited a duel\* between the Duke and her husband, in which the latter was the victim; and it is added, that 'she not only held Buckingham's horse during the combat in the disguise of a page, but afterward went to bed with him, even before he had changed his shirt stained with her husband's blood!'

But how will the reader be astonished to find, that this noble debauchee wrote also some prose-compositions on serious subjects, which would have done honour to the pen of a divine! Such however are, his '*Short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Men's having a Religion or Worship of God,*'† which was published about three years before his death and passed through several editions; his '*Letter to the unknown author of a paper, entitled A Short Answer to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Paper concerning Religion, Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience;*' his '*Essay on Reason and Religion;*' and another on '*Human Reason.*' Of a less serious cast,

\* The Duke does not appear to have been very prone to duelling, if we may reason from his affair with Lord Ossory, whom he had grossly offended by observing, upon some discussion relative to Ireland, that "whoever was against the measure in question, had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding." His personal struggle, likewise, with the Marquis of Dorchester was extremely degrading. For both offences, both the parties were committed by their brother-Lords to the Tower.

† Printed in the *Phoenix*, ii. xxviii. p. 519.

but containing much wit and some just strictures on popery, is his 'Account of a Conference between himself and father Fitzgerald,' whom King James sent to him during a fit of illness to convert him to the Romish Church. Several of his speeches, likewise, have been preserved in the Collection above referred to, entitled 'Miscellaneous Works written by his Grace George, late Duke of Buckingham, and containing various productions of other eminent persons.'

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## EXTRACTS.

*Speech, in 1675.*

'MY LORDS,

'There is a thing called property, whatever some men may think, that the people of England are fondest of. It is that they will never part with, and it is that his Majesty in his speech has promised to take particular care of. This, my Lords, in my opinion, can never be done, without an indulgence to all Protestant Dissenters. It is certainly a very uneasy kind of life to any man that has either Christian charity, good nature, or humanity, to see his fellow-subjects daily abused, divested of their liberties and birthrights, and miserably thrown out of their possessions and freeholds, only because they cannot agree with others in some opinions and niceties of religion; which their consciences will not give them leave to consent to, and which, even by the consent of those who would impose them, are no way necessary to salvation. But, my Lords, beside this and all that may be said upon it, in order to their improvement of our trade, and the increase of the

wealth, strength, and greatness of this nation, which with your leave I shall presume to discourse of at some other time, there is methinks in this notion of persecution a very gross mistake, both as to the point of government and religion. There is so, as to the point of government; because it makes every man's safety depend upon the wrong place, not upon the governors, or man's living well toward the civil government established by law, but upon his being transported with zeal for every opinion held by those, that have power in the church which is in fashion. And I perceive it's a mistake in religion, for that it is positively against the express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ: nay, my Lords, as to our Protestant Religion, there is something yet worse; for we Protestants maintain, that none of these opinions, which Christians here differ about, are infallible; and therefore in us it is somewhat an inexcusable conception, that men ought to be deprived of their inheritance, and all their certain conveniences and advantages of life, because they will not agree with us in our uncertain opinions of religion. My humble motion to your Lordships therefore is, that you will give me leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to all Dissenting Protestants. I know very well, that every Peer of this realm has a right to bring into parliament any bill, which he conceives to be useful to this nation. But I thought it more respectful to your Lordships, to ask your leave for it before; and I cannot think that doing of it will be any prejudice to the Bill, because I am confident the reason, the prudence, and the charitableness of it will be able to justify it to this House and the whole world.'

Accordingly, the House gave the Duke leave to bring in a bill.

*From a 'Discourse on the Reasonableness of Men's  
having a Religion.'*

'My design in this paper is, to induce men to a belief of religion by the strength of reason; and, therefore, I am forced to lay aside all arguments which have any dependence upon the authority of Scripture, and must fashion my discourse as if I had to do with those that have no religion at all.

'The first main question, upon the clearing of which I shall endeavour to ground the reasonableness of men's having a religion or worship of God, is this; whether it is more probable that the world has ordered itself to be in the form it now is, or was contrived to be so by some other being of a more perfect and more designing nature? For whether or no the world has been created out of nothing, is not material to our purpose; because if a supreme intelligent Agent has framed the world to be what it is, and has made us to be what we are, we ought as much to stand in awe of it, as if it had made both us and the world out of nothing. Yet, because this latter question ought not to be totally passed by, I shall take the liberty to offer some conceptions of mine upon it.

'The chief argument used against God Almighty's having created the world, is that no man can imagine how a thing should be made out of nothing; and that, therefore, it is impossible he should have made the world, because there is nothing else out of which it could be made.

'First then, I cannot choose but observe, that to say, because we are not able to imagine how a thing should be, therefore the being of that thing must be impossible, is in itself a disingenuous way of argu-

mentation; especially in those, who at the same time declare 'they believe this world to be eternal,' and yet are as little able to comprehend how it should be eternal, as how it should be made out of nothing.

'In the next place I conceive, that nothing can be properly said to endure, any longer than it remains just the same; for in the instant any part is changed, that thing, as it was before, is no more in being.

'In the third place, that every part of this world we live in is changed every moment; and by consequence, that this whole world is so too, because the whole is nothing else but what is composed of every part: and that therefore we cannot properly say, this world has continued for many ages, but only that all things in this world have been changed for several years together.

'To evade which opinion, those who maintain the eternity of the world are forced to say, that 'the matter of it is not changed, but the accidents only.' Though this be a sort of argument, which they will not allow of in others; for when it is by the Romanists urged in defence of transubstantiation in the sacrament, that 'the accidents of the wafer remain, though the substance of it be changed,' they reject that as a ridiculous notion: and yet it is not one jot more absurd to say, that 'the accidents remain when the matter is changed,' than that 'the matter remains when the accidents are changed.' Nay, of the two, the assertors of this latter opinion are the least excusable, because they boldly attribute it to a natural cause; whereas the Romanists have the modesty at least to own it for a mysterious miracle.

'But that the weakness of this imagination, of

separating accidents from bodies, may the plainlier appear, let us examine a little what the meaning of the word 'accident' is. Accident then does not signify a being distinct from body or matter, but is only a word, whereby we express the several ways we consider of what is in a body or matter that is before us. For example: if we perceive a body to have length, then we consider of that length as an 'accident' of that body; and when we perceive a body to have a smell, or taste, then we consider of that smell and that taste as 'accidents' of that body. But in none of these considerations we mean, that any thing can have length, or smell, or taste, but what really is body; and when any thing, that had a smell or taste, has left off to have a smell or taste, is no more in it. So that, upon an examination of the whole matter, I am apt to believe, that there can be naturally no change of 'accidents,' but where there is a real change of bodies.

'But to proceed a little farther, the question being, whether it be more probable that the world or that God Almighty has been from all eternity; I think I may adventure to affirm, that of two propositions, the least probable is that, which comes nearest to a contradiction. Now nothing can come nearer to a contradiction than eternity, or abiding the same for ever, and a continued changing or not abiding the same one moment. And therefore I conclude, it is less probable that this changeable world should have been from all eternity, than that some other being of more excellence and greater perfection should be so, whose very nature is incapable of change.

'That being, of more excellence and greater per-

fection, I call God; and those, who out of a foolish aversion they have for the name of God, will call it 'Nature,' do not in any kind differ from this notion of that Being, but only change it's name, and rather show they have a vain mistaken ambition of being thought Atheists, than that they have any reason strong enough to convince them to be so.

\* \* \* \* \*

' If then it be probable that there is a God, and that this God will reward and punish us hereafter for all the good and ill things we act in this life, it does highly concern every man to examine seriously, which is the best way of worshipping and serving this God; that is, which is the best religion.

' Now if it be probable, that the instinct which we have within us of a Deity be akin to the nature of God, that religion is probably the best, whose doctrine does most recommend to us those things, which by that instinct we are prompted to believe the virtues and good qualities. And that, I think, without exceeding the bounds of modesty, I may take upon me to affirm, is the Christian religion.

' And for the same reason it does also follow, that the religion among Christians, which does most recommend to us virtue and a good life, is in all probability the best religion.

' And here I must leave every man to take pains, in seeking out and choosing for himself; he only being answerable to God Almighty for his own soul.

' I began this discourse, as if I had to do with those who have no religion at all; and now, addressing myself to Christians, I hope they will not be offended at me, for ending it with the words of our Saviour:

**“ Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.”**

**‘ I shall beg leave farther only to propose a few questions to all those, in general, who are pleased to call themselves Christians.**

**‘ First, whether there be any thing more directly opposite to the doctrine and practice of Jesus Christ, than to use any kind of force upon men in matters of religion; and consequently, whether all those that practise it (let them be of what church, or sect, they please) ought not justly to be called Anti-christians?**

**‘ Secondly, whether there can be any thing more unmanly, more barbarous, or more ridiculous, than to go about to convince a man's judgment by any thing but by reason? It is so ridiculous, that boys at school are whipped for it; who, instead of answering an argument with reason, are loggerheads enough to go to cuffs.**

**‘ And, thirdly, whether the practice of it has not always been ruinous and destructive to those countries where it has been used, either in monarchies or commonwealths? And whether the contrary practice has not always been successful to those countries where it has been used, either in monarchies or commonwealths?**

**“ I shall conclude with giving them this friendly advice: if they would be thought men of reason, or of a good conscience, let them endeavour by their good counsel and good example to persuade others to lead such lives as may save their souls: and not be perpetually quarrelling amongst themselves, and cutting one another's throats, about those things, which they all agree are not absolutely necessary to salvation.”**



*A Pindaric Poem on the Death of Lord Fairfax; Father to the  
Duchess of Buckingham.*

BY GEORGE, LATE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

I.

‘ UNDER this stone does lie  
One born for victory ;  
Fairfax the valiant, and the only He,  
Who ere for that alone a conqueror would be.  
Both sexes’ virtues were in him combined ;  
He had the fierceness of the manliest mind,  
And yet the meekness too of woman-kind :  
He never knew what envy was, nor hate ;  
His soul was fill’d with truth and honesty,  
And with another thing quite out of date, call’d modesty.

II.

He ne’er seem’d impudent, but in the place  
Where impudence itself dares seldom show it’s face :  
Had any strangers spied him in the room  
With some of those he had overcome,  
And had not heard their talk, but only seen  
Their gesture and their mein,  
They would have sworn he had the vanquish’d been ;  
For as they bragg’d and dreadful would appear,  
While they their own ill luck in war repeated,  
His modesty still made him blush, to hear  
How often he had them defeated.

III.

Through his whole life, the part he bore  
Was wonderful and great,  
And yet it so appear’d in nothing more  
Than in his private last retreat :  
For ’tis a stranger thing, to find  
One man of such a worthy mind  
As can dismiss the power which he has got,  
Than millions of the Polls and braves ;  
Those despicable fools and knaves,  
Who such a pudder make  
Through dullness and mistake  
In seeking after power, and get it not.

## IV.

When all the nation he had won,  
 And with expense of blood had bought  
 Store great enough he thought  
 Of glory and renown,  
 He then his arms laid down,  
 With just as little pride  
 As if he had been of his enemies' side ;  
 Or one of them could do that were undone.  
 He neither wealth, nor places sought ;  
 He never for himself, but others fought :  
 He was content to know  
 (For he had found it so)  
 That when he pleased to conquer, he was able,  
 And left the spoil and plunder to the rabble.  
 He might have been a king,  
 But that he understood,  
 How much it was a meaner thing  
 To be unjustly great than honourably good.

## V.

This from the world did admiration draw,  
 And from his friends both love and awe,  
 Remembering what he did in fight before :  
 And his foes loved him too,  
 As they were bound to do,  
 Because he was resolved to fight no more.  
 So bless'd by all, he died ; but far more bless'd were we,  
 If we were sure to live, till we could see  
 A man as great in war, as just in peace as he.

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*The Lost Mistress, a Complaint against the Countess of —,*  
 BY THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, in the Year 1675, June 12th.

' FORSAKEN Strephon in a lonesome glade,  
 By nature for despairing sorrows made,  
 Beneath a blasted oak had laid him down ;  
 By lightning that, as he by love o'erthrown.  
 Upon the mossy root he lean'd his head,  
 While at his feet a murmuring current led  
 Her streams, that sympathised with his sad moans ;  
 The neighbouring echoes answer'd all his groans.

Then as the dewy morn restored the day,  
 While stretch'd on earth the silent mourner lay,  
 At last into these doleful sounds he broke,  
 Obdurate rocks dissolving whilst he spoke :

“ What language can my injured passion frame,  
 That knows not how to give it's wrongs a name ;  
 My suffering heart can all relief refuse,  
 Rather than her it did adore accuse.

Teach me, ye groves, some art to ease my pain,  
 Some soft resentments that may leave no stain  
 On her loved name, and then I will complain. }

'Till then to all my wrongs I will be blind,  
 And whilst she's cruel, call her but unkind.  
 As all my thoughts to please her were employ'd,  
 When of her smiles the blessing I enjoy'd ;  
 So now, by her forsaken and forlorn,  
 I'll rack invention to excuse her scorn.

While she to truth and me does unjust prove,  
 From her to fate the blame I will remove ;  
 Say, 'twas a destiny she could not shun,  
 Fate made her change that I might be undone.  
 E'er with perfidious guilt her soul I'll tax,  
 I'll charge it on the frailty of her sex :  
 Doom'd her first mother's error to pursue ;  
 She ne'er was false, could woman have been true.

Let all her sex henceforth be ever so,  
 She had the power to make my bliss or woe,  
 And she has given my heart it's mortal blow. }

In love the blessing of my life I closed,  
 And in her custody that love disposed.  
 In one dear freight all's lost ! of her bereft,  
 I have no hope no second comfort left.

If such another beauty I could find,  
 A beauty too that bore a constant mind,  
 Ev'n that could bring me medicine for my pain,  
 I loved not at a rate to love again.

No change can ease for my sick heart prepare,  
 Widow'd to hope, and wedded to despair.”

Thus sigh'd the swain : at length, his o'erwatch'd eyes  
 A soft beguiling slumber did surprise ;  
 Whose flattering comfort proved both short and vain,  
 Refresh'd, like slaves from racks, to greater pain.’

## THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE.\*

[1627—1691.]

**HISTORIANS** and political writers, both ancient and modern, have advanced it as an incontestable proposition; ‘That learning, and the liberal and polite arts, flourish in proportion to the freedom of civil societies.’ And upon this general maxim some have refined so far as to assert, ‘That they succeed better under republican, than under monarchical, governments.’ The latter opinion, however, seems to have been founded upon the progress of human knowledge under the ancient commonwealths of Greece; for it by no means holds universally true in modern times. Nor, indeed, is the general maxim itself totally free from exceptions.

Francee furnishes a splendid instance to prove, that the sun of science may pervade the dense clouds of despotism, and shine forth for a season, even amidst the ravages of tyranny and the carnage of war. Part of the reign of Louis XIV. was the golden age of her arts and sciences.

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Birch’s *Life of Boyle*, prefixed to the edition of his Works, in 5 vols. fol. 1744, *Biographia Britannica*, and Burnet’s *Funeral Sermon* at his death.

The impolitic revocation of the Edict of Nantz in 1685 banished from her territories, with many thousands of ingenious and industrious mechanics and artists, some of the most eminent professors of polite literature, who could not submit to the intolerant spirit of Popery. And the English Revolution soon afterward, by which religious and civil liberty was fixed on a permanent basis, was the æra in this country of the revival of science, the progress of which had been previously interrupted by civil commotions, and by a royal conspiracy to overturn the free constitution of the realm.

Thenceforward to the present time, under the auspices of better sovereigns, the improvement of the understanding has been the delight of men of superior genius in the walks of private life. The result has been a plentiful harvest of eminent poets, philosophers, and divines. From this collection, though of a somewhat earlier date, ROBERT BOYLE must not be omitted: a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue.

The seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, he was born at Lismore in the year 1627; and, though he was the only one of his father's sons who attained manhood without receiving a title, and also the only one who did not distinguish himself in public business, his life was not less useful to his country than that of the greatest statesman.

His father \* committed him to the care of a plain country-nurse, with instructions to bring him up as

\* Whose Life has been already recorded in these Volumes.

hardily as if he were her own. The vigorous constitution however, which this injunction procured for him, he subsequently lost by being treated with too great tenderness.

At the age of three years, he had the misfortune to lose his mother. This calamity, it appears from some Memoirs which he drew up of his more early days, he bitterly regretted, esteeming it a singular unhappiness never to have seen one of his parents so as to remember her; more especially, from the excellence of the character which she left behind her.

Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which occasioned him for a long time no inconsiderable trouble: by mimicking some children of his own age, he unfortunately learned to stutter; an infirmity of which, though no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured.

He returned home, when he was about seven years old; and soon afterward, in a journey to Dublin, he incurred a great risk of losing his life. In passing a brook swelled by sudden showers, his father's coach was carried away, and dashed to pieces: but one of the attendants succeeded in rescuing him from the torrent.

While at home, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of the Earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman who resided in the house. In 1635, his father wishing him to be educated at Eton under the care of his old friend Sir Henry Wotton, he set out, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother (afterward Lord Shannon) for Youghall; and thence, not without considerable danger of being taken by some Turkish

pirates which at that time infested the Irish coast, crossed the sea to Bristol.

On his arrival at Eton, he was placed under Mr. Harrison, then master of the school, of whose kindness toward him he makes honourable mention in his *Memoirs*; observing, that ‘through his prudent management chiefly he acquired that relish for learning,’ by which even in his youth he was so highly distinguished. He likewise remarks, ‘that the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius, the celebrated Latin writer of the Life of Alexander the Great, first made him in love with other than pedantic books.’

At Eton he remained between three and four years; after which his father carried him to his own seat at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, and placed him for some time under the care of Mr. Douch, then rector of the parish and one of his chaplains.

In the autumn of 1638, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were sent abroad upon their travels. Embarking at Rye they proceeded by Dieppe and Rouen to Paris, and thence through Lyons to Geneva, where they resumed their studies with the utmost assiduity. The latter in particular, during his stay at that place, renewed his acquaintance with the mathematics, the elements of which he had first acquired at Eton.

He was now approaching fourteen; and his temper being naturally grave, his thoughts were frequently turned to religious subjects, not indeed without some mixture of doubts and difficulties (as he himself acknowledges) about the certainty of the Christian Revelation; doubts and difficulties however followed by the best of consequences, as they led

him to examine coolly and circumstantially the evidence in favour of the Gospel, and firmly to conclude by mere dint of reasoning that it was the only certain way to salvation.

While he remained at Geneva, he made occasional excursions into the adjacent country : he even proceeded to Grenoble in Dauphiné, and took a view of those rugged mountains, where Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order, spent his wild and solitary hours.

In September 1641, he quitted Geneva, and passing through Switzerland, the Grisons, and Lombardy, arrived at Venice; whence, after a short stay, he returned to spend the winter at Florence.\* He had here an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language; but though he understood it perfectly, he never spoke it like the French, of which he became so complete a master, as occasionally even to be mistaken for a native of that country during his travels.

From Florence he passed to Rome; but the climate disagreeing with his brother, he speedily left it, and by Leghorn and Genoa travelled to Marseilles. In this city, in May 1642, he received his father's letters, giving a dreadful account of the Rebellion recently broken out in Ireland, and stating that 'with great difficulty he had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, to enable them to return home:' but this money they never received; for the London merchant, to whom it was entrusted, proved unfaithful to his charge. Their tutor however, M. Marcombes, supplied them with as much as carried them to Geneva,

\* During his residence in this city, the celebrated Galileo died at a village at no great distance.



where they continued with him for some time : after which, his purse being exhausted, he took up some jewels on his own credit ; and, with the money produced by their sale, enabled them to continue their journey. They arrived in England in 1644.

The Earl of Cork had died the preceding year ; but, though he had made an ample provision for his son Robert, by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge, and several considerable Irish estates, it was some time before he could receive any money. In the mean while he lodged with his sister, Lady Ranelagh ; and by her interest, and that of his brother Lord Broghill, procured protections for his property in both islands from those who were then in power. He also obtained leave to visit France, probably in order to settle his accounts with his excellent governor and friend, M. Marcombes : but his stay abroad was short.

In March, 1646, he retired to his seat at Stalbridge ; whence he made various excursions to London and Oxford, applying himself to his studies with as much assiduity as circumstances would permit. His progress indeed was surprising, under such disadvantages, in many branches of literature, which have usually been accounted the most difficult and abstruse. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of persons distinguished for genius and learning, to whom he was in every respect a prompt and generous assistant, and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence : he was likewise one of the first members of that small but learned body, which held it's first meetings at London, and subsequently removed to Oxford, stiled by him ' The Invisible,' and by themselves ' The Philosophical College.' These,

after the Restoration, were incorporated under the title, which they well deserved, of 'The Royal Society.'

It is no small honour to Boyle, that though he was then so young, his merit gained him admission among persons the most eminent for the acuteness of their understandings, and the extent of their knowledge. His diligence was, indeed, so much the more to be commended, as at this time his health was much disordered by frequent fits of the stone; a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life might possibly have greatly contributed. But notwithstanding this, and his frequent removals from place to place on occasion of business or courtesy, he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or his projects to be interrupted; as may be inferred from his having completed, before he had reached the age of twenty, his 'Seraphic Love,'\* his 'Essay on Mistaken Modesty,' and his 'Swearer silenced;' to the latter of which he subsequently gave the title it now bears, 'A Free Discourse against Customary Swearing.' Beside these, from his publications, as well as from many of his private letters, it appears that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterward composed distinct treatises.

The retired course of life, which for the sake of his health, through the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs he delighted to lead, did not prevent his being noticed and complimented by some of the most eminent members of the Republic of Letters.†

\* See the Extracts.

† In 1651, Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, an eminent physician,

In 1652, he visited Ireland, in order to settle his estates in that kingdom; and there, in consequence of a fall from his horse, he incurred a grievous fit of sickness. He came back in 1653; but was speedily obliged to return. His chief resource against the perplexities of business he found in the friendship of Dr. (afterward Sir William) Petty, the celebrated writer on Political Arithmetic.

In the summer of 1654, he settled at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends, who then resided there, as on account of the numerous conveniences which that University afforded for the prosecution of his beloved studies. He chose, however, rather to lodge in the city than to have apartments in college; both for the sake of his health, and because he had more space for his philosophical experiments.

Here he found himself surrounded by a number of learned men, who had resorted thither chiefly for similar reasons, the 'Invisible College' being now transferred from London to Oxford. And during his residence here he invented the Air-Pump, which was perfected for him by Mr. Hooke, in 1658 or 1659. With this he made such experiments, as enabled him to discover and demonstrate several qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundation for a more complete theory on the subject. He declared himself strenuously against the philosophy of Aristotle, as having in it more of words than things, promising much and performing little; in short, giving hypotheses for proofs, and affecting to draw the knowledge of Nature rather from the subtilties of human

dedicated to him his 'History of Generation;' styling him both "his patron, and his friend."

fancy than from the works of Nature herself. He was so zealous, indeed, for the true method of learning by experiment, that though the Cartesian philosophy made at that time a great noise in the world, he would never be persuaded to read the works of its ingenious inventor, lest he should be seduced by specious sophistries and plausible conjectures.

But philosophy and inquiries into nature, though they deeply engaged, did not wholly absorb, his attention. He still continued his critical studies, assisted by the illustrious scholars Dr. Edward Pococke, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clarke. He maintained also a strict intimacy with Dr. Barlow, at that time Principal Librarian of the Bodleian, and afterward Bishop of Lincoln, a man of various and extensive learning. He was the patron of the learned Dr. Pell, an eminent mathematician; and the celebrated Dr. Wallis dedicated to him his ‘Treatise on the Cycloid.’

In 1659, being made acquainted with the scanty circumstances of Dr. Sanderson, subsequently Bishop of Lincoln, he bestowed upon him a stipend of 50*l.* *per ann.*; a favour, which that great man thankfully acknowledged in the dedication of his Lectures, printed at Oxford during the same year.

Upon the Restoration, he was treated with marked respect by the King and his two principal ministers, the Lord Treasurer Southampton and Chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was pressed to enter into holy orders. This however, after much deliberation, he thought fit to decline, upon the most disinterested motives. The same year he published two of his first pieces, one of which, his ‘New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air (addressed to his ne-

phew, Lord Dungarvan) drew him into a controversy with Franciscus Linus and Hobbes, whose objections he refuted with equal candor and courtesy. The second was, his 'Discourse on Seraphic Love;' and both were received with universal applause. The fame of his acquirements had spread even at this time so extensively, that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a prince distinguished for learning, desired Mr. Southwell, the English resident at Florence, to communicate to him his desire of holding a correspondence with him.

In 1661, he published his 'Physiological Essays and other Tracts,' which added considerably to his reputation; and, not long afterward, his 'Sceptical Chemist:' but several treatises, which are mentioned in this and the preceding work as being in forwardness, and which the world were impatiently expecting, were subsequently lost in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the Great Fire.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in Ireland was obtained from the King in Mr. Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not however prevent his warmly interesting himself for procuring them to be applied to the promotion of true religion and learning. He interposed, likewise, in favour of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, and was actively instrumental in obtaining a decree in Chancery for restoring to that corporation an estate, of which one Colonel Bedingfield a papist had injuriously repossessed himself, after he had sold it to them for a valuable consideration.

The Royal Society being incorporated by letters patent of Charles II., dated April 22, 1663, Mr.

Boyle was appointed one of the Council;\* and, as he might be justly reckoned among the founders of

\* The President and Council named in this Charter were :

William, Lord Visc. Brouncker, P.	George Ent. M. D., afterward Sir George Ent, Knt.
Sir Robert Moray, Knt.	William Erskine, Esq.
Robert Boyle, Esq.	Jonathan Goddard, M. D. Prof. Med. Gresh.
William Brereton, Esq. afterward Lord Brereton.	William Balle, Esq., Treasurer.
Sir Kenelme Digby, Knt.	Matthew Wren, Esq.
Sir Paule Neile, Knt.	John Evelyn, Esq.
Henry Slingsby, Esq., expelled in 1675.	Thomas Henshaw, Esq.
Sir William Petty, Knt.	Dudley Palmer, Esq.
Timothy Clarke, M. D.	Abraham Hill, Esq.
John Wilkins, D. D., afterward Bishop of Chester.	Henry Oldenburg, Esq. Secretary.

These, at a subsequent meeting held about a month afterward, by virtue of a power given them by the Charter for two months, assumed ninety eight brother-members; including the names of Elias Ashmole, John Aubrey, Isaac Barrow, Walter Charleton, Daniel Colwall, Sir John Denham, K. B., John Dryden, Seth Ward, John Hoskyns (afterward President), Walter Pope, Charles Scarborough, Robert Southwell (afterward President), Thomas Sprat, John Wallis, Edmund Waller, Joseph Williamson, Francis Willoughby, Christopher Wren, and Sir Cyril Wyche.

The successive Presidents have been

1663, William, Lord Viscount Brouncker.	1686, John, Earl of Carbery.
1677, Sir Joseph Williamson, Knt.	1689, Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
1680, Sir Christopher Wren, Knt., Boyle having declined the honour.	1690, Sir Robert Southwell, Knt.
1682, Sir John Hoskyns, Bart.	1695, Charles Montagu, Esq., afterward Earl of Halifax.
1683, Sir Cyril Wyche, Bart.	1698, John, Lord Somers.
1684, Samuel Pepys, Esq.	1703, Sir Isaac Newton, Knt.
	1727, Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

that learned body, so he continued one of it's most valuable members during the remainder of his life. In June 1663, he published his 'Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy,' which consisted of several essays on curious subjects, handled with the utmost freedom from a just zeal for truth and for the common benefit of mankind. These pieces, thus published, were (as he himself informs us) 'written on several

1744, Martin Folkes, Esq.	1768, James West, Esq.
1752, George, Earl of Macclesfield.	1772, James Burrow, Esq.
	——, Sir John Pringle, Bart.
1764, James, Earl of Morton.	1778, Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.
1768, James Burrow, Esq.	

Immediately on the election of Lord Macclesfield, says Dr. Thomson,\* a very striking improvement is observable in the value of the Transactions. Many excellent papers, likewise, made their appearance under his immediate successor: and though under Sir John Pringle an unfortunate dispute upon the relative goodness of pointed or knobbed conductors occupied too many of their pages, yet are they dignified by the experiments of Dr. Maskelyne at Schehallien to determine the density of the earth, with Dr. Hutton's deductions from them; by those of Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, and General Roy, to establish correct formulas for measuring heights by the barometer, the report of the Committee appointed to determine the proper method of graduating thermometers, Mr. Hutchins' experiments to ascertain the freezing point of mercury, &c. By far the most valuable volumes of the series, however, have been published during the presidentship of Sir Joseph Banks: and, fortunately for the progress of science, he has enjoyed that situation for a much longer period than any of his predecessors; Sir Isaac Newton, who comes nearest to him in that respect, only having held it twenty four years.

Dr. Campbell, it may be added, in his '*Hermippus Redivivus*,' ascribes the formation of the Royal Society to Cowley's notion of a 'Philosophical College.'

\* History of the Royal Society.

occasions, to several persons, and at different times; but as they still had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of sending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that satisfaction, which particular friends had testified on the perusal of them in manuscript.' These were followed by 'Experiments and Considerations upon Colours;' to which was added a letter, containing 'Observations upon a Diamond that shines in the dark,' a treatise full of interesting remarks on the previously unexplained doctrine of Light and Colours, evincing great accuracy and penetration, and justly perhaps to be regarded as having paved the way for the immortal Newton, who afterward set that important subject in the most perspicuous point of view.

In the same year, likewise, appeared his 'Considerations on the Stile of the Holy Scriptures,\*' extracted from a much larger work entitled, 'An Essay on Scripture,' which was subsequently published by P. P. A. G. F. I.; i. e. 'Peter Pett, Attorney General for Ireland,' a man of considerable reading and voluminous composition, for whom on account of his uprightness of intention Mr. Boyle entertained a high regard.

In 1664, he was elected into the company of Royal Miners, and was occupied during the whole year in the prosecution of various excellent designs; more especially, in promoting the affairs of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England, which probably prevented his publishing any treatises either on religion or philosophy.

\* See the Extracts.



In 1665, however, he gave to the world his ‘Occasional Reflexions upon several Subjects, to which was prefixed, A Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such Kind of Writings.’ This piece had been written in his early youth. The attack made upon it therefore by Dean Swift, who satirised it in a piece called, ‘Meditations on a Broomstick, in the Manner of Mr. Boyle,’ may be pronounced as cruel and as unjust, as it was trivial and indecent. A short time afterward, he published ‘Experiments and Observations relative to an Experimental History of Cold, with several Pieces thereunto annexed.’ This work of his may be justly regarded as the first work which threw any real light upon the subjects professed to be examined.

On the death of Dr. Meredith, Provost of Eton, in August 1665, his Majesty unasked and unsolicited appointed Mr. Boyle his successor. This was certainly, all circumstances considered, the fittest employment for him in the kingdom: yet apprehending that it’s duties might interfere with his studies, and not liking to quit the course of life, which by experience he found agreeable to his temper and constitution; above all, being unwilling to enter into holy orders (which he regarded as a necessary qualification) in opposition to the advice of all his friends he respectfully, but resolutely, declined the appointment.

In 1666, Dr. Wallis addressed to Mr. Boyle ‘An Hypothesis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea.’ During the same year, the celebrated Sydenham dedicated to him his ‘Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Observations,’ a short treatise written in Latin and truly worthy of it’s author. Mr. Boyle likewise now published, at the request of

the Royal Society, his 'Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the most part physical and easy' (those experiments having been performed at their desire, about two years before); and his 'Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments,' which appeared at the same time, did equal honour to the quickness of his wit, the depth of his judgement, and his indefatigable industry in searching after truth.

Both in this and the preceding year, likewise, he communicated to the Royal Society several curious short treatises of his own upon a great variety of subjects, and others transmitted to him by his literary friends both at home and abroad, which are printed in the Philosophical Transactions.

It is remarkable that, in the warm controversy raised with regard to that Society, Mr. Boyle escaped all censure; particularly as Stubbe, the vehement antagonist of it's first Secretary Mr. Oldenburg, seemed to raise his resentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric writer, in the midst of his fury, addressed frequent letters to Boyle in order to convince him, that how angry soever he was with the Society, he preserved a just respect for his distinguished abilities and a true sense of gratitude for his numerous favours.

About this period Mr. Boyle resolved to settle in London. For that purpose he removed to Lady Ranelagh's house in Pallmall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and more especially of the Royal Society, to whom he gave continual assistance. He had, likewise, his appointed hours for receiving such as came either to desire his aid, or to commu-

nicate to him new discoveries in science. Beside which, he maintained an extensive correspondence with the most eminent scholars throughout Europe.

In 1669, he published his ‘Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air; to which was added, A Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies;’ and the same year he revised and enlarged several of his former tracts, some of which were now translated into Latin, in order to gratify the curiosity of foreigners.

In the succeeding year he gave to the world a work which occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain an immense treasure of new knowledge grounded upon actual experiments, instead of that notional philosophy, which in the beginning of the century had been so much in fashion. The title of this treatise was, ‘Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things.’

About this time, Dr. Peter Du Moulin (the son of the French divine of the same name) who had travelled with Mr. Boyle’s nephews, dedicated to him his ‘Collection of Latin Poems.’ But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytic distemper; of which, however, he with some difficulty got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen.

In 1671, he published ‘Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second Part;’ as also ‘A Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important points of Practical Philosophy.’ In 1672, appeared his ‘Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems,’\* in which, accord-

\* See the Extracts.

ing to his custom, he treated an old and trite subject in a novel manner. The same year, likewise, appeared 'A Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air, and several other useful and curious Subjects;' beside a great number of short Dissertations, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their Transactions.

In 1673, came out his 'Essays on the strange Subtlety, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia; to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects:' and Antony Le Grand, an eminent Cartesian philosopher, dedicated to him his 'History of Nature,' which made its appearance in Latin, and gave a large account of the reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts.

In 1674 he published his 'Collection of Tracts on the Saltness of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies;' to which he prefixed, 'A Dialogue concerning Cold:' a piece, which had been written nearly ten years before, entitled 'The Excellency of Theology compared with Natural Philosophy, as both are the Objects of Men's Study, in an Epistolary Discourse to a Friend;' and an additional 'Collection of Tracts, comprehending some Suspicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes' Problem about a Vacuum, and a Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction;' in which many old errors and groundless notions are refuted and exploded.

In 1675, appeared 'Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion, by

T. E.\* a layman ;' to which was annexed, 'A Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection, by Mr. Boyle.' Among other pieces communicated by him during this year to the Royal Society, two upon 'Quicksilver growing hot with Cold' deserve particular notice.

In 1676, he published 'Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities' in several discourses on a great variety of subjects: among the rest, he treats very largely, and as usual very accurately, of electricity.

As a Director of the East India Company, he had been extremely useful to that body, especially in procuring their charter. The only return which he expected for these services was, that they should come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the Gospel in the East; and, as a proof of his own anxiety to co-operate in that praiseworthy purpose, he caused five hundred copies of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the Malayan tongue to be printed at Oxford in 1677, and sent abroad at his own expense.† The same year was printed at Geneva, without his knowledge, a Miscellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin; of which a large account is given in the Philosophical Transactions.

In 1678, he communicated to Mr. Hooke 'A short Memorial of some Observations made upon an artificial Substance, that shines without any preceding Illustration,' which that gentleman thought fit to

\* The final letters of Robert Boyle.

† This appears from the Dedication prefixed, by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde, to that translation, which was published under his direction.

make public. In the same year, likewise, he published his 'Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir.' This is considered as one of his most remarkable compositions: the facts contained in it, indeed, would have been esteemed incredible upon any inferior authority.

In 1680, he obliged the world with the following tracts, viz. 'The Aërial Noctiluca,' and 'A Process of a factitious self-shining Substance;' beside which, he published also some small discourses upon different philosophical subjects. At this period the Royal Society, to evince their just sense of his great worth and of his constant and eminent services, elected him their President; but he being extremely, and (as he himself says) 'peculiarly tender in point of oaths,' declined the honour in a letter addressed to Mr. Professor Hooke, of Gresham College. He was also, within the compass of this year, a considerable benefactor toward the publishing of Dr. Burnet's 'History of the Reformation;' as he readily was, under similar circumstances, in the instance of every performance calculated for the general benefit of mankind.

In 1681, he published his 'Discourse of Things above Reason.' In 1682, appeared his 'New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy Noctiluca;' to which is added, 'A Chemical Paradox, making it probable that their Principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced.' The same year, also, he communicated to the public 'The Second Part of his Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix: containing several other Discourses.'

In 1683, his only production was a short Letter to the Rev. Dr. John Beale, in relation to the making of fresh water out of salt, published at the request of the patentees embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpose. The proposals for this undertaking were addressed to Mr. Boyle; and the person, who drew them up, acknowledges in strong terms the favour of his assistance.

In the succeeding year, he printed two very considerable works: his 'Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood;' and his 'Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies, divided into two Parts; the first relating to Animals, the second to solid Bodies.' His works having now grown to a very considerable bulk, Dr. Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish a title to fame, urged him in very pressing terms to publish them collectively in the Latin tongue; out of regard as well to his own reputation, as to the general interest of mankind, and the peculiar satisfaction of the learned world.

In 1685, he produced his 'Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters, with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments;' 'An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Discourse of some hitherto little-regarded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects;' and a 'Dissertation on the Reconcilableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy; to which is added, A Discourse of the Advantages attending the Use of

Simple Medicines.' To these philosophical he added an excellent theological Discourse, of 'the High Veneration which Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power;' being part of a much larger work, which he mentions to prevent any exception being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning.

In the commencement of the succeeding year, appeared his 'Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature;' a most important piece, which will always be admired and valued by such as have a true zeal for religion and intelligible philosophy. The same year, his friend Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, transmitted to him from Holland his account of his Travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy; which were, subsequently, published.

In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, entitled 'The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didyma,' issued from the press: and in 1688, he published his 'Disquisition into the final Causes of Natural Things; and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturalist should admit them. To which was added an Appendix about vitiated Sight.'

He began now to find that his health, notwithstanding all his caution, was greatly on the decline; which put him upon devising every possible method of husbanding his time, for the benefit of the learned world. With this view, he no longer communicated his discourses or discoveries to the Royal Society, because this could only be done by withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he deemed of more general importance. He resigned, likewise, his appointment as Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England: and he even



went so far as to announce by public advertisement, that he could no longer receive visits as usual, except upon extraordinary occasions; stating, among other reasons, that 'he wanted leisure to put his papers in order, to supply the blanks which he had left in many of his treatises, and to repair the deficiencies in others occasioned by the carelessness of a servant, who had spilt upon them a bottle of sulphuric acid; that, as he had been serviceable to the public during his life, so his vast collections might not prove useless after his decease.' Soon afterward, he directed a board to be placed over his door, with an inscription notifying when he did, or did not, receive visits.

Among the other great works which he thus gained time to finish, one very probably was 'A Collection of Elaborate Processes in Chemistry.' Concerning this he wrote a Letter to a friend, which is still extant; but neither the piece itself, nor some other curious tracts upon the same subject, found among his papers, were ever published. Here it ought not to be concealed, that he believed in Alchemy. This appears from a conversation, which he held upon the subject with Dr. Halley; and likewise from his having obtained, in 1689, a repeal of the statute of 5 Hen. IV. against the multiplying of gold and silver.

In 1690, he published his '*Medicina Hydrostatica*: or, Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica: showing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies used in Physic have in Water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which was subjoined, A previous Hydrostatical Way of estimating Ores.' In the postscript to this Treatise, he informs the reader, that he had prepared materials sufficient

for a second volume; but it never appeared. In the same year, however, appeared another excellent work, under the title of ‘The Christian Virtuoso; showing that, by being addicted to Experimental Philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The First Part. To which were subjoined, I. A Discourse upon the Distinction that represents some Things as above Reason, but not contrary to Reason. II. The First Chapters of a Discourse, entitled, ‘Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity.’ In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions ‘A Second Part of the Christian Virtuoso;’ which he had begun, and which is actually published (imperfect, as he left it) with an Appendix to the first part, in the last edition of his Works.

The last of his productions published in his life-time appeared in the spring of 1691, entitled, ‘*Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ*; wherein are briefly treated of several Subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way; to which is added, A Small Collection of Strange Reports.’ This is called, in the title-page, ‘The First Part;’ and among his papers were found the ‘Second and Third Parts;’ but they were never given to the public.

Toward the middle of this year, Mr. Boyle felt such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July, he signed and sealed his last will, to which he subsequently added several codicils.

In the month of October following, his distemper increased; which might perhaps in some measure be owing to his tender concern for his beloved sister Lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years

in the greatest harmony, and whose tedious indisposition about this time brought her to the grave. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished and extraordinary woman; so that her brother might justly esteem it one of the felicities of his life, that he had possessed in such a sister so useful a friend and so agreeable a companion.

He did not himself survive her above a week; for on the last day of the year he died, and was buried near her on the seventh of January in the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields. His funeral, considering the crowd of persons of distinction who attended it, beside his own numerous relations, was as simple as possible. The sermon upon the occasion was preached by Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

In person, we are told, Mr. Boyle was tall but slender, and of a countenance pale and emaciated. His constitution was so frail and delicate, that he had divers sorts of clokes to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air; and, in this, he governed himself by the thermometer. The small pox he escaped; but for almost forty years he laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it was astonishing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write with so much perseverance. He had, likewise, a weakness in his eyes, which made him extremely apprehensive of such distempers as might affect them. He imagined also that, if sickness should confine him to his bed, it might raise the pains of the stone to a degree beyond his strength to support, so that he feared lest his last minutes should prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution, with which he was observed to live; for, as to life

itself, he had that just indifference to it which became so true a Christian. His sight, however, did not begin to grow dim above four hours before he died; and when death came upon him, says Bishop Burnet, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him with so little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame.

The simplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he practised with such strictness, that in a course of above thirty years he neither eat nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature; nor ever once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which had been prescribed.

Mr. Boyle was never married; but Mr. Evelyn has recorded, that he paid his addresses to the beautiful daughter of Cary Earl of Monmouth, and that to this passion was owing his 'Seraphic Love.' It does not appear, however, from any of his own writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind.

After so minute a detail of his views and his labours, it would be superfluous to enter into a long delineation of his character. From every transaction of his life it is obvious, that he was a true philosopher, a good citizen, a benevolent man, and a pious Christian. The extensiveness of his knowledge surpassed every thing but his modesty in displaying, and his desire of communicating it. In all his compositions, we trace his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this, not from any timid apprehensions of opposition, but from an

anxious inclination to instruct without severity, and to part with wisdom as freely as he had received it. With the justest conception of truth which the human mind can frame, he was so cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid in the opinion of all correct judges the slightest imputation of credulity: while on the other hand, he was so well acquainted with the powers of nature, that he never presumed to prescribe limits to them, or stifled accessions of knowledge by that species of contemptuous incredulity, which too often attends superior learning. In a word, considered in every light, he approached as nearly to perfection as the defects of humanity would allow; and the most universal praise, though he never sought it, waited on his labours living, and has constantly attended his memory.

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## EXTRACTS.

*Considerations touching the Stile of the Holy Scriptures.*

‘ To proceed, then, to the more particular objections against the Scripture. The first I shall consider is, that it is obscure. And this I find alleged by two sort of men to two different purposes; some endeavouring by it to disgrace the Bible, and others only making the pretended darkness of many of it's passages an excuse for their not studying it.

‘ To the first sort of objectors I answer, that it is little less than inevitable that many passages of the Scripture should seem obscure to us, and that it is but fit that divers others should be so too.

‘ For first, the objectors (as I formerly observed)

reading the Bible but in translations, are destitute of those helps to understand the sense of many passages, that may be afforded by skill in the original languages. Beside that even to those, that have taken pains to understand the original tongues, the genuine sense of divers words and phrases is denied by the injury of time, through which (as was already noted) a greater part of the Hebrew and Chaldean tongues has been lost.

‘ Secondly, many texts appear obscure to those that live in these latter times, only because that by reason of the perishing of those writings and other monuments of antiquity that were contemporary to the Books of the Old Testament, we cannot be sufficiently acquainted with the history, the laws, and the customs of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Scripture ; so that it need be no wonder if divers passages of the Books of Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings, Esther, and other historical Books of the Scripture, as also of the four last Books of Moses, are obscure to us ; and yet might be very intelligible to those in whose times they were written, and for whose use they were principally designed. As, although Lucius Florus would in many places appear very obscure to such readers as know nothing of the Roman affairs, but by the account given to them in his writings (whence diverse late critics have been invited to illustrate him out of other Latin authors) yet questionless to the Roman readers that lived in his time, or not very long afterward, his book was easy enough to be understood. How much the want of other historians contemporary to the Penmen of the Old Testament may make things seem obscure, that might by such stories be easily cleared up, we

may observe from divers passages of the New Testament, which can scarcely be well understood without an account of Herod's family, and the changes that happened about our Saviour's time in Judæa, which was sometimes all of it governed by Herod the Great that massacred the children at Bethlehem, and sometimes was governed by Pilate and other Roman magistrates, and sometimes was so divided that it was as to some parts only governed by Herod's descendents under various titles; the want of the knowledge of which, and of the several princes that bore the name of Herod, does much puzzle many readers that are strangers to Josephus. And it seems somewhat strange to many, that Christ should in St. Luke (xxi. 21, 22.) admonish his hearers to fly out of Jerusalem and Judæa, and not resort thither from the neighbouring countries, *when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies*, since those armies would probably hinder the counselled retirement, at least as to the city. Whereas he that finds in the story, that the Roman forces under Gratus did on a sudden, and (as good authors tell us) without any manifest cause, withdraw from the siege of Jerusalem, and then return to it again, and under Titus carry the town by force; he that shall read also in Eusebius, iii. 5. that the Christians of Jerusalem did (divinely admonished) make use of the opportunity presented them to quit all of them the city, and retire to Pella on the other side of Jordan; he, I say, that shall read and take notice of all this, will not only clearly understand the reasonableness of our Saviour's warning, but admire the prophetic spirit by which he could give it. And, as it is difficult to collect out of the Old Testament alone the history of those times

wherein it was written ; so it is not to be expected, that out of those books we should be able to collect and comprehend either complete ideas of the Israelitish government civil and ecclesiastical, or the true state of their several sects, opinions, and affairs in matters of religion : and yet without the knowledge of those it cannot be, but that many texts will seem obscure to us, which were not at all so to them that were coætaneous to the penmen of those books. The labours of some modern critics, that have put themselves to the trouble of making a thorough search into the writings of those Jewish Rabbis that lived about our Saviour's and his Apostles' times, have by the help of this Rabbinical learning already cleared up divers texts which before were dark, because they related to particular sects, customs, sayings, or opinions among the Jews, whose knowledge the writers of the New Testament do not teach but suppose. And I doubt not, but higher and valuable attainments in that kind of learning (how worthless soever I should think it, if it were not conducive to the illustration of the Scripture) will ere it be very long disperse that obscurity, which yet dwells upon divers other texts, and will show the groundlessness of all our cavils at them, as well as that of many of our too fierce contentions about them. I shall add, that I dare almost presume to question, whether even our famousest critics have not left divers Mosaical texts in the dark, if not clouded them by their comments, merely for want of knowing the religion of the ancient Zabians, in opposition of whose magical worship and superstitions I am apt to think divers ceremonies of the ritual law of the Jews to have been instituted. And yet of those Zabiists, I find a deep and



general silence in classic authors, except (the Rabbi's Oracle) Maimonides, out of whom our great antiquary, Mr. Selden, both in familiar discourse and in his excellent Tract of the 'Syrian Deities' gave me first a hint, which by lighting on another author of those parts I have since had the luck to improve sufficiently to make me fear, that they that are strangers to the Zabians' rites and creed will scarcely give us the clearest account the theme is capable of in divers passages of the Mosaic Law: as I am apt to think, that our ignorance or want of taking notice of the persuasions and practices of the Gnostics, Carpocratians, and the sects allied to theirs, if it do not make us mistake and mis-interpret, doth at least keep us from giving the clearest interpretations whereof they are capable to many passages of the New Testament, wherein they are either clearly pointed at or closely related to.

Thirdly, we may reasonably suppose, that of the texts that are now difficult unto us, there are divers that are so, only because they were principally intended for the use of those that shall live in after-times, by whom they will questionless be better understood. To the Jews, that lived in and long after Moses' time, many of those predictions both verbal and typical of the Messiah seemed very dark, which to us Christians are abundantly illustrated by the rising of that Sun of Righteousness, who was aimed at in them. And though the mysterious Temple and City described in Ezekiel, as also much of the Apocalypse and divers other prophetic passages of Holy Writ do yet seem abstruse to us, they will not appear so to those, to whom their completion (the best expositor of dark prophecies) shall have

unfolded them. For I observe, that as some divine predictions are clearly expressed, to the intent that those that are made acquainted with them may beforehand know what will happen; so others are proposed, not so much that those, to whom they are first addressed, should know the foretold events before they come to pass, as that when they do come to pass, the same accomplishment that expounds them may evince that the foreteller of them was able to foresee them, according to that of our Saviour to his disciples, to whom he prophesied the sufferings they should undergo: '*These things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them.*' (John xxvi. 21.)

' Fourthly, it was fit, that there should be some obscure passages left in the Inspired Volume, to keep those from the knowledge of some of those divine mysteries (that are both delightful and useful, though not absolutely necessary) who do not think such knowledge worth studying for. As it was also fit, which I partly noted above, that there should be some clouded and mysterious texts, to excite and recompense the industry and speculation of elevated wits and religious inquirers.

' Lastly, there are divers obscure passages in Scripture, wherein the difficulty lies in the thing itself that is expressed, not in the Scripture's manner of expressing it. For not to maintain that obscureness, that is wont to attend prophetic raptures (of which there are many mentioned in Scripture) there are divers things, that we agree to be knowable by the bare light of nature without Revelation, which yet are so un-easy to be satisfactorily understood by our

imperfect intellects, that let them be delivered in the clearest expressions men can devise, the notions themselves will yet appear obscure. Thus in Natural Philosophy itself, the nature of place and time, the origin of motion, and the manner whereby the human soul performs her functions, are things which no writers delivered so clearly, as not to leave the things somewhat obscure to inquisitive and examining readers. And shall we then wonder that those texts of Scripture, that treat of the nature and decrees of God, and of such sublime mysteries as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the influence of the Spirit upon the soul of man, and such other abstruse things, which it cannot be reasonably expected that human words should keep from being hard to be comprehended by human understandings, should be obscure to us ; especially, if we suffer our not understanding their full meaning at first to deter us from endeavouring to find it out by farther study ?

I am sorry I can add on this occasion, that divers texts are made to appear more dark, than otherways they would, by the glosses and interpretations of some, that pretend to expound them. For there are divers subtile men, who being persuaded upon certain metaphysical notions they are fond of, or by the authority of such either churches or persons as they highly reverence, that such or such niceties are either requisite to the explication of this or that doctrine delivered in Scripture, or at least deducible from it, will make bold so to interpret dark texts (and, sometimes, even clear ones) that they shall seem to hold forth not only their own sense, but the nice speculations or deductions of him that quotes them : so that divers texts, which to a rational and unprepossessed peruser would appear plain enough, seem

to contain inextricable difficulties to those unwary or prejudicate readers, who are not careful to distinguish betwixt the plain sense of a text itself, and those metaphysical subtilties, which witty and interested persons would father upon it; though oftentimes those niceties are either so groundless, that though there needs much wit to devise them there needs but a little reason to despise them, or so unintelligible, as to tempt a considering man to suspect that the proposers either mean not what they speak, or understand not what they say. And I could wish these metaphysical quirks, with which several not only schoolmen but other writers have perplexed the doctrine of Predestination, of the Trinity, of the operation of the Spirit of God upon the will of man, and some other mysteries of Christian religion, did not give advantages against those doctrines to the opposers of them, and perhaps make some men opposers who otherwise would not have been so. And I fear, that too great an opportunity has been afforded to Atheistical wits by the unintelligible fancies, which many have made bold to add to what the Scripture has revealed concerning the eternity and infiniteness of God: for whilst men undiscreetly and unskilfully twist together as integral parts of the same doctrine a revealed truth with their own metaphysical speculations about it, though these be too often such as cannot be proved or perhaps so much as understood, they tempt such examining readers, as are rational enough to discern the groundlessness of one part of the doctrine, to reject the whole for it's sake. But I fear, I have digressed. For my intention was only to intimate, that it is not oftentimes so much what the Scripture says, as what some men

persuade others it says, that make it seem obscure ; and that as to some other passages that are so indeed, since it is the abstruseness of what is taught in them that makes them almost inevitably so, it is little less saucy upon such a score to find fault with the stile of the Scripture, than to do so with the Author for making them but men.

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—‘ The Apostle of the Gentiles, teaching us that the whole Scripture is (for so I should rather English the *παρα γραφη*, because there follows) *θεοπνευστος*, *divinely inspired, and is profitable for doctrine, for conviction, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works*, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16; and the Apostle of the Circumcision assuring us, that *Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*, 2 Pet. i. 21; we are not to believe that so Divine an enditer, by secretaries most of them conspicuous by the gifts of prophecy or miracles, would solemnly publish to the world and for his church any thing that ought indeed to be accounted impertinent or useless. And yet of these qualities some persons, more bold than learned and considerate, are pleased to impeach many passages of Scripture. But truly that God, who was so precisely exact in the dimensions, proportions, and all other circumstances of the ancient Tabernacle, though it were but a typical and temporary structure, ought to be supposed at least as careful to let nothing superfluous intrude into those volumes, which being consigned to the Church for the perpetual use and instruction of it must contain nothing uncondusive to those designs, the least

text in it being as contributory to the completing of the Bible as every loop or pin was to the perfection of the Tabernacle. God, by so great a condescension to the weakness of our capacities and memories, as the withholding from the canon so many writings of Solomon, and so many of the oracles and miracles of our Saviour, and by so strangely preserving the whole Scripture (for the books pretended to be lost, though written by never so holy men, are either in our Bibles extant under other names, or cannot be demonstrated to have ever been canonical, that is, entrusted with the Church as the infallible rule of faith and life) does, methinks, abundantly evidence his design of enchasing nothing there, that hath no tendency to his people's instruction. Were not my discourse confined by my occasions, and the fear of distressing your patience to somewhat narrower limits, I could easily by several instances of texts, seemingly useless, show how much men have been mistaken in imagining them such. Many passages that at the first or second reading I could find or guess no uses of, at the third or fourth I have discovered so pregnant in them, that I almost equally admired the richness of those texts, and my not discerning it sooner. A superficial and cursory perusal presents us many things as trivial or superfluous, which a perspicacious reflexion discloses to be mysterious. And of so precious a quality is the knowledge of Scripture, that no one part of it ought to be esteemed useless, if it may but facilitate or improve the understanding of any other; divine truths being of that worth, that the knowledge and acquisition of a few of them, as much outvalues a greater knowledge of other things, as a jeweller's skill and stock is preferred before a mason's. And I consider here, that

as the Bible was not written for any one particular time or people, but for the whole church militant diffused through all nations and ages; as many passages (*e. g.*, those opposed to the Zabians' magical rites) have at first been necessary for the Jews, which lose the degree at least of that quality for us; so there are many others very useful, which will not perhaps be found so these many ages, being possibly reserved by the prophetic Spirit that endited them (and whose omniscience comprises, and unites, in one prospect all times and all events) to quell some future foreseen heresy, which will not perhaps be born till we be dead; or resolve some yet unformed doubt, or confound some error that hath not yet a name; so that all the parts of Scripture are useful in some ages, and some in all. We read in the Gospel, that at the first institution of the Eucharist it was expressly said to the disciples concerning the sacramental wine, '*Drink ye all of it,*' Matt. xxvi. 27. Mark xiv. 23.; whereas, upon the exhibition of the bread, the particle *all* is omitted. This difference, 'tis like, the primitive Christians marvelled at, and discerning no reason for it might be tempted to think the passage useless or superfluous; but we, that live in an age wherein the cup is denied to much the greater part of the communicants, are invited not only to absolve the recording of this particularity, but to admire it. The ceremonial law, with all its mystic rites (which, like the manger to the shepherds, holds forth wrapped in his swaddling clothes the infant Jesus, Luke ii.) to many, that bestow the reading on it, seems scarcely worth it: yet what use the Apostles made of it with the Jews, and how necessary the knowledge of it is yet to us in our controversies with them, he that is any thing versed

in them cannot be ignorant. And let me tell you, Theophilus, that those fundamental controversies are both more necessary and more worthy a wise man's study, than most of those comparatively trifling ones, that at present so miserably (not to say, so causelessly) distract Christendom. How many passages of the Prophets by lazy readers are thought to have no use, which, as the star did the Wise Men (Matt. ii.) lead the attentive considerers to Christ; and so loudly and harmoniously, together with Moses' typic shades, utter those words of the Baptist, '*Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world,*' John i. 20., that I meet with numerous passages in the New Testament, to which I cannot but apply what St. Matthew notes upon his narrative of our Saviour's apprehension: '*All this was done, that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled,*' Matt. xxvi. 56; or rather, '*Now all this was so done that they were fulfilled*' (for so, oftentimes, the context commands us to render the *iva* in these citations); and which recal to my mind the history of the Transfiguration: for as there the Apostles at first *saw Moses and Elias talking with Jesus*, but at the second view (when the cloud was withdrawn, and he had spoken to them) *saw none but Jesus only*, Matt. xvii. 3, 8; so such passages as I am speaking of in the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, at first survey appear very distinct things; but upon a second inspection, and the access of more light from an attentive collation of things, they do all as it were vanish into Christ, *of whom* (to use an Apostle's term) *Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write*, John i. 55. and at whom those types and those predictions pointed. Those instances of the Old Testament, of the confused or dis-



located mention of known pedigrees and stories, were possibly useless and even troublesome to the ancient Jews, but serve us extremely to silence the cavils of the modern ones; when they would invalidate the New Testament's authority, because in St. Stephen's narrative, and some of the Evangelist's genealogies, the Holy Ghost is pleased to employ in the New Testament that obscure strain he had oftener used in the Old: and sure as insultingly as the Jews used to urge against us objections of that nature, I could readily retaliate and repay them in the same coin, were there no common enemy that might be advantaged by our quarrel, and employ either's arguments against both. And as there are divers prophetic passages in the Revelation, which we know as little the use as the meaning of, which yet doubtlessly our posterity will not find barren, when once the accomplishment shall have proved the expositor of those predictions, whose event will (if it do nothing else) attest the omniscience of their inspirer; so, possibly, of many Mosaic constitutions, whereof we Christians find excellent uses, most of the old Jews scarcely knew any. At least my conversation with our modern Rabbies shows me that they, whilst they obstinately decline referring them to the Messias, can scarcely make any more of the inspired and mysterious laws of Moses (except those that relate to the Zabian superstition, with which too most of their doctors are as unacquainted as ours) than the Egyptians, or Gymnosophists, could of their sacrifices and other ritual devotions.

‘ It is not, that I think all the books that constitute the Bible of equal necessity or equal usefulness, be-

cause they are of equal extraction; or that I esteem the church would lose as much in the prophecy of Nahum as that of Isaiah, or in the book of Ruth as in the Epistle to the Romans or the gospel of John (as the fixed stars themselves, though of the same heaven, are not all of the same magnitude and lustre) but I esteem all the constituent books of Scripture necessary to the canon of it: as two eyes, two ears, and the rest of the members are all necessary to the body; without divers of which it may be, but not be so perfect, and which are all of great though not of equal usefulness. And perhaps it might, without too much hyperbole, be said yet farther; that as among the stars that shine in the firmament, though there be a disparity of greatness compared to one another, yet they are all of them lucid and celestial bodies, and the least of them far vaster than any thing on earth; so of the two Testaments that compose the Bible, though there may be some disparity in relation to themselves, yet are they both heavenly and instructive volumes, and inestimably outvaluing any the earth affords, or human pens ever traced. And I must add, that as mineralists observe that rich mines are wont to lay hid in those grounds, whose surface bears no fruit-trees (too much maligned by the arsenical and resembling fumes) nor is well stored with useful plants or verdure, as if God would endear those ill favoured lands by giving them great portions; so divers passages of Holy Writ, which appear barren and unpromising to our first survey, and hold not obviously forth instructions or promises, being by a sedulous artist searched into (and the original word *επισυναι*, used in that text of '*Search the Scriptures*,' John

v. 39., does properly enough signify the ‘searching for hid treasure’) afford out of their penetrated bowels rich and precious mysteries of divinity.’

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*From his Tractate on ‘Seraphic Love.’*

‘What has been said already, Lindamor, hath it seems sufficed to rectify your love by disabusing it, and showing you how unfitly it was placed on it’s former objects. Your proficiency in that invites me to proceed with you to a new lesson, and (mindful of that true saying of an eminent Father, *Nemo aliquem amat, quem non vult esse meliorem*) to endeavour to exalt your passion by directing and settling it upon an object, the due contemplation of whose loveliness may cure as perfectly all hurts received from any mortal beauty, as anciently the sight of the mysterious serpent on the pole (Numb. xxi. 8, 9.) did cure the hurts the fiery serpents gave. For, since to gaze steadfastly on an outward beauty, where all your looking will but discover the same face, is found so effectual to kindle or to blow the flame of love (which the Greeks prettily enough express by their *ἐκ τῆς ὁρατῆς γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἐραυ*) how much must a due contemplation enamour us of that divine, and though refulgent, yet ever more and more discoverable object, where attention and wonder still mutually excite and cherish each other? Whence the zealousest and perfectest lovers of God are the glorious Angels, of whom our Saviour says, That in heaven *they always behold the face of his Father which is in heaven* (Matt. xviii. 20.) and those blessed Saints, whose employ-

ment and whose happiness is, in the Revelation, expressed to be *to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes* (Rev. xiv. 4.) And those unblemished persons are in that place recorded to have kept themselves undefiled by mortal beauties, to teach us that the nearer and clearer intuition, that heaven affords them of the glorious object of their passion, was not the cause of it, but the recompence ; and that, while they lived exiles here on earth, it was such a speculation as I am recommending to you, wherewith they lived, to borrow the expression used of Moses, *as seeing him who is invisible*, Heb. xi. 27. ; a sight, whose glory made them look on fading beauties with as undazzled and untroubled eyes, as eagles can be supposed to cast on glow-worms when they have been newly gazing on the sun.' \* \* \*

—‘ Seraphic Love, whose passionateness is it’s best complexion, has then most approached it’s noblest measure, when it can least be measured ; nor ought it’s extent to admit any other limits, than an utter disability to exceed those that terminate it. For he alone loves God as much as he ought, that loving him as much as he can, strives to repair the deplored imperfection of that love with an extreme regret to find his love no greater. Such a sublimity of love will best entitle you to the consolation accruing from that memorable passage of St. John, where he says that *God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him*, (John iv. 6.) ; which supplies me with a very forcible inducement to invite you to an eager aspiring to a transcendency in devotion, since it may render Self-Denial so easy, that it will at last almost divest that name. For this sub-

lime love being by an intimate conjunction with it's object wholly devoted to it, and thoroughly refined from all base dross of selfishness and interest, nobly begets a most strict union of our will with God's, or rather a perfect submission of the one to the other. And thus, when it is become your will to obey his, no dispensations of Providence will immoderately disquiet you: for you possess your wishes in general, and in bulk, though possibly not always in retail; for your chiefest desire being to see your Maker's will fulfilled, your knowledge of his being the sovereign and uncontrolled disposer of the events assures you, that all accidents that can befall you are but exact accomplishments of his will, and consequently of yours, so far forth as that is included and comprised in his. When you have resigned, or rather consigned, your expropriated will (if I may so call it) to God, and thereby as it were entrusted him to will for you, all his disposals of and his dispensations toward you are in effect the acts of your own will, with the advantage of their being directed and specified by him; an advantage, that does at once assure you both of their rectitude and success. God's wisdom, power, and love to you considered, how much more happy must you be in your options of his choosing for you, than your immediate own? The patient thinks himself obliged to gratify his physician, for choosing for him what sorts of meat he is to feed on: though the doctor be wont to make such a choice for him, as deprives him of the dishes he best likes, and oftentimes confines him to those he loaths. Alas! how often might God say of our requests, as Christ did of those of the two aspiring disciples, *'Ye know not what ye*

*ask!* I admire, and blush, to read in a heathen satirist so heavenly a lesson as—

*Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid  
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris :  
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt Dî.  
Carior est illis homo quàm sibi : nos, animorum  
Impulsu et cæcâ pravâque cupidine ducti,  
Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris ; at illis  
Notum, qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.*

‘ Unto the wiser Gods the care permit,  
Of what’s for us and our affairs most fit.  
They will for pleasant things the best confer,  
To whom man is than to himself more dear.  
We, by our blinder passions led astray,  
Do for a wife perhaps or children pray ;  
Which they may chance refuse us out of love,  
Knowing what both the wife and boys would prove.’\*

the consideration of which made a heathen philosopher say, that ‘ he was wont only in general terms to

\* Of this passage, both as a gratification of curiosity, and a subject for comparison, are subjoined three recent and rival versions :

‘ ———To the Gods our fortune trust,  
Their thoughts are wise, their dispensations just.  
What best may profit, or delight, they know ;  
And real good for fancied bliss bestow :  
With eyes of pity, they our frailties scan ;  
More dear to them, than to himself, is man.  
By blind desire, by headlong passion driven,  
For wife and heirs we daily weary heaven :  
Yet still ’tis heaven’s prerogative to know,  
If heir or wife will bring us weal or woe.’ (GIFFORD.)

‘ ———This rule receive ;  
The choice of blessings to the giver leave.

beg good things of the gods, leaving it to them to determine what things were good for him ;' and indeed our own wishes are but too commonly as blind as Rachel's, who having so eagerly longed for children that she impatiently cries, *Give me children, or else I die* (Gen. xxxv. 8.) died in child-bearing ; and as destructive to the wishers, as their longings proved to the murmuring Israelites, who loathing the wholesome *manna* (Numb. xi. 33.) the *bread of angels* God had provided for them, ate their own bane in the flesh they had so greedily lusted for. Thus, Linda-mor, that so affrighting virtue of Self-Denial proves to be little more than a son's letter of attorney to his father, of whose paternal kindness and consummate abilities in the management of affairs his confidence amounts to a certainty. Nay, till my second thoughts checked the over-forward impetuosity of my first, I was about to add—since God feels an infinite satisfaction in the accomplishment of his own

He grants us happiness, and not our will :  
 E'en when we hate ourselves, he loves us still.  
 By a blind impulse violently driven,  
 We claim a wife, a family from heaven ;  
 But heaven best knows how vile our wife may be,  
 How shameless our ungrateful family.' (HODGSON.)

' ———Do thou permit the Gods to choose  
 What it is meet to grant, and what refuse.  
 Giving whate'er is good, they oft deny  
 What only seems so to our erring eye :  
 Dear to himself is man, but far more dear  
 To them, who mark how passion wins his ear.  
 A wife, a home, and sweet domestic peace—  
 These boons *he* seeks with prayers that never cease :  
*They*, to whose altars and whose shrines he runs,  
 Discern the future wife, the future sons.' (BADHAM.)

will, your making over your whole will to God will impart to you that felicity proportioned to the degree of the resignation. And as the eye, while by the optic nerve tied unto the head, can taste delights which it is dead to, being once severed from it, though otherwise it enjoy the best condition of which it's inanimate nature can be supposed to be capable; so may you well, by an identity or sameness (in tendency, though not in nature) with your Maker's, as it were engrafted into God's, receive a new and enlarged capacity, which will enable you to contain and relish joys highly transcending those which the fullest fruition of your private wishes would be able to create. Thus, Self-Denial is a kind of holy association with God, and by making you his partner, interests you in all his happiness and acquisitions. And, consonantly, we see that glorified Saints and blessed Angels, whose wills have the most exquisite and exact conformity to God's, enjoy a happiness most approaching his; whereas the Apostate Spirits, in a confirmed repugnancy to his will, find the extremity of wretchedness.'

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—' I must needs acknowledge, Lindamor, that when with bold telescopes I survey the old and newly-discovered stars and planets that adorn the upper region of the world, and when with excellent microscopes I discern in otherwise invisible objects the inimitable subtilty of Nature's curious workmanship, and when in a word by the help of anatomical knives and the light of chemical furnaces I study the book of nature, and consult the glosses of Aristotle, Epicurus, Paracelsus, Harvey, Helmont, and other learned expositors of that instructive volume; I find myself oftentimes reduced to exclaim with the Psalmist,



*How manifold are thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast thou made them all* (Ps. civ. 24.) And when I have been losing myself in admiration of what I understand not, only enough to admire and not to comprehend, I am often obliged to interrupt or break off my inquiries, by applying to the work of God's creation the expression used by St. Paul of those of his providence, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways untraceable!* (Rom. xi. 33.) And exclamations of this nature may the attentive consideration of any other of God's attributes, deservedly, produce. But having elsewhere treated of this subject in a peculiar Discourse, I shall now, Lindamor, invite you to consider with me how much you, and those that are conscious to their having virtue enough in themselves to make them prize it in others, are in love with Cato, Scipio, and those other heroes that ennoble and almost exceed mankind, upon the bare knowledge of their virtues; although from them we derive no personal advantage, their death having numerous ages preceded our nativity. Since then we pay so much disinterested love to some few faint and ill-refined virtues, that never did profit us; how much on such a score, and at that rate, should we love Him who so possesses all perfection, that each perfection is infinite! Were you and I our own creators, Lindamor, and wholly independent upon God, without either need or hope to taste his bounty, his native excellences and what he has done for others should surely ravish us, and enamour us of him. Though his benefits to us did not entitle him to our love, his essence (the source, and only motive, of those benefits) would give him a right

to it; and, though we owed him nought for what we are, we yet should owe him love for what he is. He is that glorious sun, from whom (as beams) all created perfections flow, and in whom they all centre. To omit God's sovereign majesty, which places him so high, that but to own for him so familiar and leveling an affection as love, much more to expect to be relolved by him, were not the least saucy presumption man could be guilty of, did not his own commands make it a duty.—Not to insist on this, I say, let us a while consider that proper and peculiar attraction of love, his loveliness; which is such, that did we but once see it, all creature-competitions (even we being judges) would be then as impossible, as they are now unjust. In the fifth Evangelist's (Isaiah vi. vii.) prophetic visions, the Seraphims themselves, those glorious ornaments of the Celestial Hierarchy, are represented as covering their faces in God's presence, either blushing at their comparative deformity, or unable to sustain the unqualified splendor of so divine brightness: whence perhaps it became of old the Jewish fashion, as some frequent expressions in their writers intimate, when they went to pray, to veil their heads and faces; though now I have in their synagogue seen them only cover their head, not their faces, with those white garments they wear at their public devotions. And, Lindamor, if Moses' face by but a few days' converse with God reflected such a light, as dazzled mortal eyes; and if his swift hosts, the Angels, when sent on errands to us here on earth, even when they may be supposed (if I may so speak) to wear their travelling clothes, and stood as much to our frailty in the form as the region they appear to us in, do in spite of that darkening condescension so

much transcend all objects here on earth, that the Scripture often mentions that even those who aspired to imitate their virtues were confounded at their presence; and if in this veiling habit they appear so glorious, that their thus disadvantaged beauty is made the compliment and hyperbole of that quality—what may we, or rather what may we not, conclude of God himself, of whom the Scripture says, *He, that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He, that formed the eye, shall he not see?* (Ps. xciv. 9.) that is; ‘He, that imparts a faculty or an excellence to the creature, shall not he himself much more eminently possess it?’ And, in effect, the most unblemished created beauties are but faint shadows (or, trulier, foils) of his. Those drops of prettiness, scatteringly sprinkled among the creatures, were designed to defecate and exalt our conceptions, not to inveigle or detain our passions: for God did never intend them to terminate our love, but only by our eyes to exalt our faith above them; and by the beauties our sight can apprehend, to raise us to a confidence, that there is in their Author more than we can either see or comprehend. Like Elijah’s fiery chariots (2 Kings ii. 11.) though they be pure and bright, and consist of the noblest and gloriousest materials, they are meant by God but to carry us up to him. And as the Patriarch’s steward was furnished with so sumptuous an equipage (Gen. xxiv. 10—55.) to court Rebecca, not for himself but for Isaac, so all the loveliness imparted to the creature is lent it but to give us some more large conceptions of that vast confluence and immensity that exuberates in God. To make the rightest use of fading beauties, you must consider God and them, as you were wont to do your mistress’ picture, and it’s crystal cover: where, though

that native glass were pure and lovely, and very richly edged, yet to gaze on it was not the chiefest business of your eye; nor did you in it terminate your sight, but greedily look through and beyond it, upon the adored image that solid veil betrayed. Methinks Seraphic and our common lovers behold exterior beauties with a difference resembling that wherewith children and astronomers consider Galileo's optic glasses (with one of which telescopioes, that I remember I saw at Florence, he merrily boasted that 'he had *trovato la corte a Giove*') which the one prizes most for what they appear, the other for what they discover. For children, contenting themselves to wonder at the length and fall in love with the workmanship and gildings of the tube, do thus but gaze upon them; whereas astronomers look through them, and scarcely taking notice of the unusual ornaments or the shape, employ them to find out unknown lights in the sky, and to descry in heaven bright stars unseen before, and other celestial novelties and beauties.' \* \* \* \*

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*From his 'Treatise on Gems.'*

'But that any gems, especially the hardest sorts of them, should have a later beginning than that of the earth itself, will probably be thought to relish of a paradox; and I doubt not, it will pass with many for a great one, that some of these hardest of solid bodies should have been once fluid ones, or liquors: wherefore, I shall endeavour to countenance this hypothesis by the following considerations:

'1. And first the diaphaneity of diamonds, rubies,

sapphires, and many other gems agrees very well with this conjecture, and thereby seems to favour it. For it is not so likely, that bodies that were never fluid should have that arrangement of their constituent parts, that is requisite to transparency, as those that were once in a liquid form; during which it was easy for the beams of light to make themselves passages every way, and dispose the solid corpuscles after the manner requisite to the constitution of a transparent body. Therefore we see, that silver in *aqua fortis* or lead in spirit of vinegar, having by that solution had their particles reduced into a fluid form, those particles, though before opacous, are so disposed of as to make not only a diaphanous solution, but if one pleases, transparent crystals. And what chemists usually try with those metals, I have had the curiosity to try with several stones, which I may hereafter have occasion to name to you. But this argument I bring rather to confirm, than evince, my conjecture.

‘ 2. The origin assigned to gems may be, also, countenanced by the external figuration of divers of them. For we plainly see, that the corpuscles of nitre, alum, vitriol, and even common salt, being suffered to coagulate in the liquors they swam in before, will convene into crystals of curious and determinate shapes. And the like I have tried in several metal-line bodies dissolved in several menstruums. But unless a concreting stone, or other like body, be either surrounded with or in good part contiguous to a fluid, it is not easy to conceive how it should acquire a curious angular and determinate shape. For con-crescent bodies, as I may so speak, if they have not room enough in an ambient fluid for the most congruous ranging of their parts, cannot cast themselves

into fine and regular shapes, such as I shall presently show that divers gems seem to affect; but the matter they consist of must conform to the figures of the cavity that contains it, and which in this case has not so much the nature of a womb as of a mold. And so we see that saltpetre, and divers other salts, if the water they were dissolved in be much too far boiled away before they are suffered to shoot, will, if the liquor fill the glass, sometimes coagulate into a mass fashioned like the inside of the contained vessel, or if a pretty quantity of liquor remains after the coagulation, that part of the nitrous mass that was reduced to be concreted next the glass, will have the shape of the internal surface of it, whatever that be; but those crystals that are contiguous to the remaining liquor, having a fluid *ambition* to shoot in, will have those parts of their bodies that are contiguous to the liquor curiously formed into such prismatical shapes as are proper to nitre.

‘ To apply this now to gems: that divers kinds of them have geometrical and determinate shapes, though it be not vulgarly observed, because we are wont to see them when they are cut, if not also set in rings and jewels; yet I have often had the opportunity to take notice of it, by having had the curiosity to look upon many of them rough as nature has produced them, and the good fortune to take divers of them out of their wombs. For I remember I have taken a good number of Indian granates out of a lump of heterogeneous matter, whose distinct cavities like so many cells contained stones, on some of whose surfaces you might see triangles, parallelograms, &c. And being once near the rock, whence those stones are chiefly fetched that are commonly |called Bristol-

stones, I remember I rid thither and procured a workman or two to dig me up a number of them, divers of which I found to be curiously and determinately shaped, much like some crystals of nitre that I have taken pleasure to compare with them. And the like figuration I have also observed in divers Cornish diamonds, and in a fair and large one, which one that knew not what it was found growing with many lesser in Ireland, and presented me. And to let you see, that it is not only in these softer gems that this curious figuration is to be met with, I shall add, that I found among many stones I had and took to be rubies (and those, the jewellers will tell you, are exceeding hard) a considerable number, whose shapes, though not the same with those of the Cornish and Irish stones, were yet fine and geometrical. And the like I have observed even in those hardest of bodies, diamonds themselves, of which remembering that in my collection of minerals I had a pretty one that was rough, I perceived that the surface of it consisted of several triangular planes which were not exactly flat, but had as it were smaller triangles within them, that for the most part met at a point and did seem to constitute as it were a very obtuse solid angle: encouraged by this, I examined several other rough diamonds, and found the most of them to have angular and determinate shapes, not unlike that newly mentioned. And having thereupon consulted an expert jeweller, that was also a traveller, though he could not name to me the shapes of the uncut diamonds he had met with, yet he told me he generally found them to be shaped like that I showed him, insomuch that such a shape was a mark by which he usually

judged a stone to be a right diamond, if he had not the opportunity to examine it by hardness.

‘ And this I shall add, in favour of the comparison I lately intimated betwixt the coagulation of petre and that of gems, that having once made an odd menstruum wherein I was able to dissolve some precious stones, there shot in the liquor crystals pretty large, and so transparent and well-shaped that they might well have passed for crystals of nitre; and yet, if I much misremember not, they were insipid. And I have divers times taken notice in such stones as the Bristol diamonds, that though that part which may be looked upon as the upper part of the stone were curiously shaped, having six smooth sides, which at the top were as it were cut off sloping so as to make six triangles that terminated like those of a pyramid in a vertex: yet that, which may be looked upon as the root or lower part of the stone, was much less transparent (if not opacous) and devoid of any regular figuration; of which the reason seems to be, that this being the part whereby the stone adhered to it’s womb, it was sullied by the muddiness of it, and reduced to conform itself to whatever shape the contiguous part of the cavity chanced to be of; whereas the upper part of the stone was not only formed of the clearer part of the lapidescent juice before the waterish vehicle was exhaled, but had room and opportunity to shoot into the curious figure belonging to it’s nature. And this is much more conspicuous, where many of these crystals grow as it were, in clusters out of one mineral cake or lump, as I have seen not only in those soft but yet transparent concretions, which some of the later mineralists (for the



ancient seem scarcely to have known them) call Fluores, and particularly in a very fine mineral lump, that I had once the honour to have showed me by a great prince and no less great a virtuoso, to whom it was then newly presented. For this mass consisted of two flat parallel cakes, that seemed composed of a dirty kind of crystalline substance; and out of each cake there grew toward the other a great number of stones, some of which by their cohesion kept the two cakes together, and most of these stones having each of them a little void space about it wherein it had room to shoot regularly, were geometrically shaped, and which looked very prettily, were coloured like a German amethyst. And I have myself a pretty large stone, taken up here in England by a gentleman of my acquaintance, which consists as it were of four parts: the lowermost is a thin and broad flake of coarse stone, only adorned here and there with very minute glistering particles, as if they were, as probably they may be, of a metalline nature; over this is spread another thin white but opacous bed, which is so enclosed between the first-named bed and the two others, that without defacing the stone I cannot well examine it: the third consists of a congeries of minute crystals exceedingly thick-set, which therefore look whitish, having little or no tincture of their own; and this part, no more than either of the former, is not much thicker than a barley-corn: the fourth and uppermost part, which yet seems in great part to be the same crystals, which as they grow higher and spread acquire a deeper colour, is made up of a great number of amethysts, some paler and some highly tinted, which are of very differing figures and bignesses, accordingly (as one may guess) as they had con-

veniency to shoot—these at one end of the stone lying in a flat bed, as it were, and scarcely exceeding a barley-corn in length; whereas those at the other end shoot up to a good height into figured crystals, some of them as big as the top of my little finger, and those are the most deeply coloured, being also of a good hardness, since I found that they would easily grave lines upon glass.

‘ I remember also, that going to visit a famous quarry, that was not very far from a spring which had somewhat of a petrescent faculty in it, I caused divers solid pieces of rough and opacous stones to be broken, out of hope I had to find in them some finer juice coagulated into some finer substances: and accordingly I found that in divers places the solid and massy stone had cavities in it, within which all about the sides there grew concretions, which by being transparent like crystal and very curiously shaped seemed to have been some finer lapidescent juice, that by a kind of percolation through the substance that grosser stone was made of, had at length arrived at those cavities; and upon the evaporation of the superfluous and aqueous parts, or by their being soaked up by the neighbouring stone, had opportunity to shoot into these fine crystals, which were so numerous as quite to overlay the sides of the cavities, as I can show you in some large clusters of them that I brought thence. And inquiring of an ancient digger, ‘ Whether he had not sometimes met with greater quantities of them?’ he told me, that he had, and presented me a great lump or mass made up of a numerous congeries of soft crystals, (but nothing so colourless as these others newly mentioned) sticking to one another, but not any of them to any part of the

rock: so that they seemed to have been hastily coagulated in some cleft or cavity, as it were in a mould, where meeting and mingling before concretion with some loose particles of clay, the mass may thereby be discoloured.

‘ Our argument drawn from the figuration of transparent stones may be much strengthened by the coalition I have sometimes observed of two or more of such stones, and the congruity in the shape of some of them to the figures of those parts of the others that were contiguous to them, and seemed to have been formed after them.’

JOHN TILLOTSON,  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.\*

[1630—1694.]

**H**AD not the danger of losing the established religion and laws, as Dr. Wordsworth judiciously remarks after Dr. Powell, animated some of the last age with a zeal which despised all other dangers; instead of living under a well-constituted government, mild and regular beyond the example of any other kingdom, we should either have been subject to an arbitrary and illegal dominion at home, or (which is more probable) have long ago submitted, with all the nations round us, to those powerful enemies, who for a century past have been attempting to enslave the world. And what other human blessings can be compared with that, which is the security and preservation of them all, the liberty of Laws? What other, except that, which secures to us more than human blessings, the liberty of Religion? What praise, and esteem, and veneration are due to those, who obtained them for us? In the foremost ranks of

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Birch's Life of Tillotson*; *Burnet's History of his own Times*; and *Biographia Britannica*.

that illustrious number stands the illustrious subject of this Memoir.

John Tillotson was descended from a family originally named Tilston, of Tilston in Cheshire, where they had been settled from the time of Edward III. His father, Mr. Robert Tillotson, was a considerable clothier of Sowerby in the Parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, where he was born in the latter end of September or the beginning of October, 1630; and his mother, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Dobson, bore an excellent character, but unhappily was for many years of her life deprived of her understanding. They were both Non-conformists.

After rapidly attaining a skill in the learned languages superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge in 1647, and admitted a pensioner of Clare Hall. His tutor, whom he subsequently succeeded as Fellow, was Mr. David Clarkson,\* an antagonist of Dr. Stillingfleet, and himself answered by Dr. Henry Maurice, upon the subject of 'Primitive Episcopacy.' He became B. A. in 1650, in the year following was chosen Fellow of his College, and commenced M. A. in 1654.

His father having at an early period of the son's life become an Anabaptist, his first religious impressions were received among those, who were then called Puritans; and yet, even in early life, he felt somewhat within him disposing him to more enlarged and liberal opinions. The heavy elementary books of

\* Mr. Clarkson was, according to Baxter, "a divine of extraordinary worth for solid judgement, healing moderate principles, acquaintance with the fathers, great ministerial abilities, and a godly upright life." To his zeal for non-conformity he sacrificed the living of Mortlake in Surrey, in August 1662.

that day he could scarcely endure, even before he knew better things: but he soon met with the immortal work of Chillingworth, the glory of his age and nation, entitled, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.' This admirable book gave his mind the bias, which it ever afterward preserved.

From his first prejudices he was speedily freed, or rather indeed he was never mastered by them; yet he still adhered to that strictness of life in which he had been educated, retained a just value and due tenderness for those eminent Non-conformists with whom he had contracted a youthful friendship, and by the strength of his reasoning with the clearness of his principles conciliated or attached more serious persons to the communion of the Church of England, than any other person probably of his age.

As he adopted a new line of study, so he entered into intimacies with some of the greatest theologians\* at that time residing in Cambridge, which contributed not a little to the improving of his own mind. But that, which gave him his last and principal advantage, was his close and long friendship with Dr. John Wilkins, subsequently Bishop of Chester.† He copied all the best qualities of that distinguished man, so as to render them all more perfect: for though

\* Dr. Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ's College; Dr. Benjamin Whichcot, Provost of King's; Dr. Henry More, and Dr. George Rust (subsequently Bishop of Dromore) Fellows of Christ's; Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus; and Mr. John Smith, Fellow of Queen's, and author of 'Select Discourses;' "a volume, less known at present (says Dr. Birch) than it's sense and profound learning deserve."

† Tillotson was related to Wilkins, having married his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was niece to Cromwell.

Wilkins had a large stock of general knowledge, Tillotson was the greater divine; and, if the former was more spirited, the latter was more correct.

Tillotson left his college in 1656, or 1657, according to his virulent adversary Dr. Hickes; \* who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, Esq., † of Ford Abbey in Devonshire, to instruct his son. How long he remained in that capacity, does not appear.

At the time of Oliver Cromwell's death, he was in London, and about a week afterward witnessed a very remarkable scene at Whitehall. Happening to be there upon a fast-day of the Household, and going from curiosity into the presence-chamber where the solemnity was observed, he beheld on one side of a table the new Protector with the rest of his family, and on the other six preachers, including Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job and Lecturer of St. Magnus in London; and Mr. Peter Sterry. By the bold sallies of enthusiasm uttered upon this occasion, he was absolutely disgusted. God was, as it were, reproached with the services of the deceased Usurper, and challenged for having prematurely taken him away.

\* Several of his imputations against 'the young Roundhead,' whom he represents as "seasoned at his very entrance at Cambridge with the principles of resistance and rebellion," have been investigated, and found to be wholly without foundation!

† This gentleman had been Commissioner of the Great Seal under the Long Parliament, and was then Attorney General to Oliver Cromwell. He died in 1659.

Goodwin in particular, who had frequently asserted only a few minutes before he expired, that 'he was not to die,' had the assurance to exclaim to his Maker, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived:" and Sterry, praying for Richard, dared to use the profane parody, "Make him *the brightness of his father's glory, and the express image of his person.*"

The time of Tillotson's entering into holy orders, and the person by whom he was ordained, are unknown; but the first sermon of his, which appeared in print, was preached at the morning-exercise at Cripplegate, on Matt. vii. 12. At this period he was still among the Presbyterians, whose Commissioners he attended (though as an auditor only) at the Savoy, when they assembled for the review of the Liturgy, in 1661; but he submitted to the Act of Uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's Day in the year ensuing.

Upon dedicating himself to the service of the church, sensible of the importance of a plain and simple manner of preaching, he formed for himself what has been usually considered as an excellent model for succeeding ages. His great improvements in this important branch of public instruction, will best be estimated by those, who consider the state of the pulpit at the time when he entered upon his professional function. Oppressed with an unnecessary mixture of various languages, affected wit, and puerile rhetoric, the discourses of the day neglected the general sense of the text, while every single word of it was separately considered under all its possible meanings. The history of preaching in our own country and language, which cannot properly



be traced much higher than the Reformation,\* would show that from the beginning of the seventeenth century it had been infected by as false a taste as that which caused or accompanied the corruption of the Roman eloquence after the age of Seneca.

\* The reign of Henry VIII. produced two very learned divines, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Colet Dean of St. Paul's; the former of whom has left a few sermons, and the latter a single one, respectable at least for their stile and arrangement. Those of Latimer are defective in dignity and elegance; his frank remonstrances to persons of the highest station being delivered in expressions of peculiar quaintness, and intermixed with frequent stories unsuitable to the solemnity of the occasion. The 'Homilies,' drawn up under Edward VI., are to be considered as a condescension to the capacities of the common people. In the long reign of Elizabeth, appeared several preachers, who did honour to it: Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury; Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sandys, Archbishop of York (whose sermons are, perhaps, superior to those of any of his contemporaries) and Hooker, author of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' But the great corruption of pulpit-oratory may be ascribed to Dr. Andrews, successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. The pedantry of the court under James I. completed the degeneracy of true eloquence; nor has all the wit and learning of Donne been able to secure his discourses from neglect. Those, likewise, of Hales of Eton are scarcely ever read by the most zealous admirers of his other writings: and Bishop Hall of Exeter sinks extremely below himself in this species of composition. Sanderson, who subsequently filled the see of Lincoln in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., furnished an example of more easy and natural expression, and an improved propriety of argument: and the few remaining discourses of Chillingworth are not unworthy of his character. But the volume of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, who began to distinguish himself about the period of that prince's death, deserves much higher commendation for the copiousness of his invention, and 'the crowded yet clear and luminous galaxies of imagery' (as they have emphatically been denominated) which diffuse themselves over all his faults.

Mr. Tillotson began his course of divinity with the true foundation of it, an exact study of the Scriptures, upon which he spent four or five years. He then applied himself to the reading of all the ancient philosophers upon ethics, and among the fathers, chiefly to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. His joining with Dr. Wilkins in perfecting the scheme of 'a Real Character and Philosophical Language,' the Essay toward which was published in 1668, led him to consider more exactly the nature and proprieties of stile, in which no man knew better the art of uniting dignity with simplicity. He said what was absolutely necessary to give clear ideas of things, and he said no more. His sentences were short and clear; and the whole composition was of a piece, plain and distinct. No affectations of learning, no torturing of texts, no superficial strains, no false thoughts, no bold flights: all was solid, yet lively, and grave as well as elegant. He read his sermons, likewise, with such due pronounciation, and in so serious a manner, that far from being enfeebled they derived grace and energy from his recitation. He was never capable, indeed, of committing them to memory, or of preaching extempore (according to the custom which prevailed during his earlier life) though so great a master of language, and so perfectly versed in the whole compass of theological learning.\*

\* 'Happening (says Birch) to be with a friend in the country, who was importunate with him to preach though he was not furnished with a sermon, Tillotson ventured into the pulpit, where he took for his text one of the plainest and fullest of matter which he could recollect, *For we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ*; upon which, he has no less than five

His first appointment, after the Restoration, was the curacy of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Here he is said by his gentleness and eloquence to have induced an Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat with great popularity, to betake himself to some other employment.

The short distance of Cheshunt allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in the capital, he was often invited into the London pulpits; and in December, 1662, he was elected Minister of the Parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by the parishioners. Of this, indeed, he declined the acceptance; but in June, 1663, he accepted the Rectory of Ketton (or Keddington) in Suffolk, worth two hundred pounds *per ann.* Shortly afterward, he was called to London by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, as their Preacher. Upon this invitation, he determined to settle in the metropolis; and though, in the interval of the terms, he could have given a large proportion of his time to his rustic parishioners, so strict was he in the point of residence, that he resigned his Suffolk rectory, even when his income in London was scarcely competent to his support. The reputation which he gained by his discourses in his new and very conspicuous station recommended him,

discourses in his works. And yet he was soon so much at a loss, that after about ten minutes spent with great pain to himself, and no great satisfaction to his audience, he came down resolved never to make the like attempt for the future. The same kind of confusion, it may be added, happened to Bishop Sanderson, who was equally remarkable for an excellent memory, and a clear and logical head; when, at the persuasion of his friend Dr. Hammond, he left his sermon with him, and endeavoured to repeat it to a village-congregation.'

the year following, to the Trustees of the Tuesday Lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth Viscountess Camden. Here he was usually attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, including many of the clergy. In this pulpit, he particularly distinguished himself by opposing the growing evils of the day, Socinianism\* and Popery: and in 1664 one Smith, who had deserted the Church of England for the Romish communion, having published a book of high character among the Papists, called ‘*Sure Footing in Christianity, or rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith,*’ he refuted it in a piece entitled ‘*The Rule of Faith,*’ printed in 1666 and inscribed to Dr. Stillingfleet.

To this, Smith under the assumed name of Serjeant replied; attacking also, in another tract, a passage in Tillotson’s discourse ‘*On the Wisdom of being religious.*’† Both these works Tillotson defended, in the preface to the first volume of his Sermons printed in 1671, with a degree of strength and perspicuity, which completely established his reputation as a controversial writer.

\* Here it was, says one of his Biographers, that he preached his incomparable sermons on the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour, in vindication of himself from the calumny of Socinianism, with which the Papists charged him: “I am heartily glad,” observes Burnet, “to see justice done to the name of so great a man by one, who has answered that libel in so full and so convincing a manner.” The author of the ‘*Life of Thomas Firmin,*’ indeed, himself a rigid Socinian, has fully cleared the Archbishop from that imputation.

† This discourse, remarks Dr. Birch, “is for the size of it one of the most elegant, perspicuous, and convincing defences of religion in our own or any other language.”

His zeal for the promotion of the study of the Scriptures made him one of the earliest encouragers, about this time, of the '*Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ Interpretum*,' by Mr. Matthew Pool. Of this useful compilation the author had first given the world a specimen, with a recommendation of it by many of the greatest contemporary authorities, in 1666; and Tillotson, in conjunction with Patrick, Stillingfleet, and some others, had the management of the monies subscribed for its publication. His Majesty having granted a patent to Pool, in 1667, for the privilege of printing his work, the first two volumes were published at London in folio in 1669, and three more afterward.

In 1666, he took the degree of D.D. In 1668, the high reputation of his friend Wilkins, with the interest of Villiers Duke of Buckingham, having in opposition to the wish of Archbishop Sheldon and other dignitaries of the Church induced the King to advance that divine to the bishopric of Chester, Tillotson preached the consecration-sermon in the chapel at Ely House. Upon the promotion of Dr. Gunning to the see of Chichester in 1669, he was collated to the prebend of the second stall (Christ's Church) at Canterbury, which he continued to hold till he was advanced to the deanery of that church in 1672. Nor was Canterbury the only Cathedral, in which he was preferred; for in 1675 he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland in St. Paul's, London, which he resigned for that of Oxgate and a residentiaryship in the same church in 1678. This last preferment he obtained through

the interest of his friend Dr. John Sharp, subsequently Archbishop of York.

Dean Tillotson had been, for some years, on the list of Chaplains to Charles II.; but his Majesty, as we learn from Bishop Burnet, had no kindness for him, his zeal against Popery having but too naturally intercepted the royal favour. He therefore contented himself with his deanery, the duties of which he faithfully discharged: upon several occasions evincing the moderation of his religious principles, particularly by engaging with Dr. Stillingfleet and Mr. Hezekiah Burton in a treaty proposed by Lord Keeper Bridgman, for the purpose of comprehending the Protestant Dissenters within the pale of the Establishment.\*

\* Upon the discussion of this subject in January, 1668 (which was countenanced by Judge Hale) Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Baxter being called on the side of the Presbyterians, a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of such particulars as the King had promised by his Declaration from Breda in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination it was proposed that those, who had already received Presbyterian ordination, should be admitted to serve by a simple imposition of hands, accompanied with words importing 'that the person so ordained was received to serve as a minister in the Church of England.' But the treaty becoming the topic of common discourse, a clamor was raised, especially by the friends of the Earl of Clarendon (disgraced in August 1667, and at this time in banishment) that 'the Church was betrayed,' and a resolution passed in parliament against admitting any bill on the subject in question. A second attempt at accommodation was made in 1674, when Tillotson and Stillingfleet desired a meeting, encouraged (as they affirmed) by several Lords spiritual and temporal, with the principal of the Non-conformist Ministers, Dr. William Bates, Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Matthew Pool, and Mr. Baxter. They were at first met by Mr. Baxter alone, with whom they fixed upon a scheme of union, satisfactory to

The origin of Tillotson's interest with the Prince and Princess of Orange, and his consequent advancement to the see of Canterbury, have been ascribed to an event which occurred in the year 1677, and which is thus represented by Eachard in his 'History of England:' "The match between that Prince and Princess being made upon political views against the will of the Duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the King, the 'country-party' (as they were then called) were exceedingly pleased and elated; and, after the Lord Mayor's feast, a secret design was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city, to a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as fast as they could, out of town; so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarcely time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by the way of Harwich; but the Prince and Princess by the Canterbury road, where they were to stay till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn; and, no good care being taken in their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. M. Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the Corporation for their accommodation; but, upon grave deliberation, the Mayor and Body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotson, Dean

the rest of his dissenting brethren; but, the High-Church Prelates refusing to assent to many particulars in it, the negotiation was speedily broken off.

of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate and other that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas and all other necessities for them, and went directly to the inn to M. Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got; and withal complained that 'they did not come to the Deanery, where the Royal Family used to lodge,' and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined; but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this, the Dean was carried to wait upon the Prince and Princess, and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky accident, he began that acquaintance and correspondence with the Prince and M. Bentinck, which increased yearly till the Revolution; when Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends on his own account, as well as the Prince himself, when he came to the Crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the Bishop of London (whose qualities, and services, seemed to entitle him without a rival to the archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. Tillotson advanced over his head." But this account of the ground of Tillotson's promotion is not sufficiently authenticated, and is in itself highly improbable.

The high esteem, which Dr. Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, had for Tillotson, induced him to bequeath to him the care of his manuscripts. And not long before his death, which happened May 4, 1677, having given him permission to print his 'Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy,' it was published in 1680 with a preface, in which the



Editor observes, that “ whoever shall carefully peruse that discourse will find, that this point (upon which, Bellarmine has the confidence to say, ‘ the whole of Christianity depends ’) is not only an indefensible, but an impudent cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens: and nothing, he adds, could have kept it so long from being ridiculous in the judgement of mankind, but it’s being so strongly supported by a worldly interest. For there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it.” To this Tract he added another by Dr. Barrow, concerning ‘ the Unity of the Church,’ which the Doctor so explains, as totally to take away the necessity of a visible head. “ This preservation of unity,” says Tillotson, “ is the only specious, but yet a very remote, pretence for the Pope’s Supremacy: for if a visible monarch of the Church were granted necessary, many things must be supposed (which neither yet are, nor ever can be, proved) to make the Bishop of Rome the man.”

By the sudden death of his second brother, Mr. Joshua Tillotson, through the rupture of a blood-vessel in 1678, he was deeply affected.

The discovery of the Popish Plot, in the course of the same year, gave considerable alarm to the parliament. The Dean, being appointed to preach before the House of Commons on the fifth of November, selected for his text Luke ix. 55, 56. His discourse was intended to show, that ‘ a revengeful and cruel spirit is directly contrary to the temper of the Gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and Religion.’ In the conclusion, he applied his doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the Church of Rome,

particularly in the Gunpowder Plot, the authors of which (as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, then in his hands) fanatically expressed their concern for it's ill success.

Not long afterward, he had an opportunity of improving these considerations concerning the tendency of Popery, to the disengaging of a young nobleman of great parts from the profession of it. This was Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, who having taken subsequently a considerable part in the Revolution, was created a Duke by King William, and appointed Secretary of State. He attended Dr. Tillotson, for the first time, at the public worship in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, on Sunday May 4, 1679. The Dean's concern for the Earl induced him afterward, upon learning that his Lordship was engaged in a conversation which might prove dangerous to his virtue as well as his character, to write to him the following nervous and pathetic letter :

‘ MY LORD,

‘ It was a great satisfaction to me to be any ways instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to our religion, which I am really persuaded to be the truth. But I am, and always was more concerned, that your Lordship would continue a virtuous and good man, than become a Protestant ; being assured, that the ignorance and errors of men's understanding will find a much easier forgiveness with God, than the faults of the will. I remember, that your Lordship once told me, that you would endeavour to justify the sincerity of your change by a conscientious regard to all other parts and actions of your life. I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn

your own act, than by being a worse man after your profession to have embraced a better religion. I will certainly be one of the last to believe any thing of your Lordship, that is not good; but I always feared, I should be one of the first that should hear it. The time I last waited upon your Lordship, I had heard something, that afflicted me very sensibly; but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore loath to trouble your Lordship about it. But having heard the same from those, who I believe bear no ill will to your Lordship, I now think it my duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I have been told, that your Lordship is of late fallen into a conversation dangerous both to your reputation and virtue, two of the tenderest and dearest things in the world. I believe your Lordship to have a great command and conduct of yourself; but I am very sensible of human frailty, and of the dangerous temptations to which youth is exposed in this dissolute age. Therefore, I earnestly beseech your Lordship to consider, beside the high provocation of Almighty God and the hazard of your soul, whenever you engage in a bad course, what a blemish you will bring upon a fair and unspotted reputation; what uneasiness and trouble you will create to yourself from the severe reflexions of a guilty conscience; and how great a violence you will offer to your good principles, your nature, your education, and to a mind the best made for virtuous and worthy things. And do not imagine, you can stop when you please. Experience shows us the contrary, and that nothing is more vain, than for men to think they can set bounds to themselves in any thing that is bad. I hope in God no temptation has yet prevailed on your Lordship, so

far as to be guilty of any loose act. If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed to a habit. The retreat is yet easy and open, but will every day become more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that upon your repentance and resolution of amendment he is not only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce these considerations upon a mind so capable of, and easy, to receive good counsel.

‘ I shall only desire your Lordship to think, again and again, how great a point of wisdom it is in all our actions to consult the peace of our minds, and to have no quarrel with the constant and inseparable companion of our lives. If others displease, we may quit their company; but he, that is displeased with himself, is unavoidably unhappy, because he has no way to get rid of himself.

‘ My Lord, for God’s sake and your own, think of being happy, and resolve by all means to save yourself from this untoward generation. Determine rather upon a speedy change of your condition, than to gratify the inclinations of your youth in any thing but what is lawful and honourable; and let me have the satisfaction to be assured from your Lordship, either that there has been no ground for this report, or that there shall be none for the future; which will be the welcomest news to me in the world. I have only to beg of your Lordship to believe, that I have not done this to satisfy the formality of my profession, but that it proceeds from the truest affection and good will, that one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every day for your Lordship with the same constancy and fervor as for myself,

and do most earnestly beg, that this counsel may be acceptable and effectual.'

" I am, &c."

The death of Wilmot Earl of Rochester at Woodstock Park in Oxfordshire, in 1680, preceded by a repentance equally remarkable with the unexampled profligacy of his conduct and his principles,\* giving occasion to a letter from Mr. Nelson, the Dean began his answer to it in these words: " Could I have found any thing in myself to have justified your kind opinion of me, I might have taken the opportunity to have let a copy of your letter slip abroad, under pretence of publishing my Lord of Rochester's repentance. I am sorry that an example, which might have been of so much use and advantage to the world, is so soon taken from us. But God had pity on him, and would not venture him again in such circumstances of temptation as were, perhaps, too hard for human frailty." The case of his Lordship made a deep impression upon a mind habituated so much to reflexion; and he entered into his common-place book,† in shorthand, the following thoughts upon the occasion:

\* Beside the case of the Earl of Rochester, another instance is recorded of a Right Honourable contemner of Christianity, James Ley Earl of Marlborough; who was brought, even in full health, to a different sense of things upon real conviction, some time before he fell in the sea-fight at Southwold Bay in 1665. He addressed several letters to his friends, whom he was conscious of having misled by his ill example, urging them to ' return to virtue and religion.'

† This was his usual custom. In the same book, under the date of August 12, 1682, occur the following remarks upon

" PRAYER.

*O thou that hearest, &c.*

Oct. 1, 1680.

MY LORD OF ROCHESTER.

The omnipotency of God's grace can easily change any man, by letting in light into his mind, and

Dr. Wilkins' Natural Religion, Sermons and Gift, &c.

Dr. Barrow and Dr. Bright.

Xenophon's Instit. Seneca. Tully.

No precept of prayer in the law of Moses.

Prayer is the most natural mean of religion, which the word of God and Sacraments are of.

Prayer is the most spiritual mean of religion, because it is immediate converse with God.

Prayer is that which sanctifies all other means, and makes them effectual.

Prayer is a natural mean to work those good dispositions in us we pray for, as well as a supernatural mean.

Prayer of all the means of religion hath most of the end. It exercises our dependence upon God, our adoration and praise of him, and our charity to men.

Some of the means of religion are bare and dry means: but this comes near the end, and is a good degree of it.

That part, which consists in praise and thanksgiving, will be great work to all eternity."

#### Other Memoranda.

"June 7, 1692. That last night at twelve, being in great perplexity for the King (now in great danger, if there be an engagement) I lay waking from that time till five in the morning, and did solemnly make these following resolutions, which I earnestly beg of Almighty God the grace and power to make good, and did likewise resolve to read them over every morning:

1. Not to be angry with any body upon any occasion, because all anger is foolish, and a short fit of madness; betrays us to great indecencies; and, whereas it is intended to hurt others, the edge of it turns upon ourselves. We always repent of it, and are at least more angry at ourselves than by being angry at others.

2. Not to be peevish and discontented: this argues littleness and infirmity of mind.

3. Not to trouble the Queen any more with my troubles.

pouring in strong convictions into his conscience. The greatest and most obstinate minds, He that made them how easily can he turn them, even "the hearts of kings as the rivers of water," which follow the channel that is made for them.

An example encouraging enough to keep any man from despair, but not strong enough to found an absolute predestination of all upon.

If this great general and leader was so easily conquered, and yielded up himself a willing captive to the grace of God.

Bad men are infidels *se defendendo*. When the affection to our lusts is gone, the objections against religion banish of themselves.

Choose you and \* \*.

The greatest instance any age hath afforded, not for his own sake, as St. Paul was not, who yet was no enemy to God and religion but by mistake. I cannot think, but that it was intended for some greater good to others.

If reputation, or pleasure, or safety, or virtue, or even happiness itself have any \* \*, religion hath all these \* \* in it.

4. Whenever I see any error or infirmity in myself, instead of intending to mend it, to resolve upon it presently and effectually.

5. Not to disturb the Queen on the Lord's day; or, if I speak to her, to speak only on matters of religion.

6. To use all gentleness toward all men, in "meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."

7. Never to mention any thing said by me to the King or Queen, or by them to me; but to thank God every day for the great blessing of the King and Queen, and for their admirable example.

8. To read every morning before I go to prayer."

Atheism and infidelity do not bind up the senses of men strongly enough, but they may be awakened by the apprehension of death, or some great calamity coming upon them. A false religion, if a man be sincere in it, will bear up a man's spirits against torments and death, because every man's conscience is a kind of God to him; and the strongest opiates in the world are, enthusiasm and Popery. These may lock up men's senses beyond the power of truth to awaken them; as we see in the murderers of our late Sovereign, and in our present Romish conspirators.'

In the November of the same year, the Commons with a view of guarding the nation from the return of Popery, passed a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; but it was thrown out in the Upper House on the second reading, by a majority of thirty votes, of which eight were Bishops. Upon this, the clergy in and about the city of London presented an address of thanks to the King for not agreeing to the bill, which Dr. Tillotson however refused to sign.

In 1681, died the Rev. Mr. Gouge, upon whom the Dean preached a funeral sermon; commending him, more especially for that "he procured the 'Church-Catechism,' the 'Practice of Piety,' and that best of books the 'Whole Duty of Man,' beside several other pious and useful treatises to be translated into the Welsh tongue, and great numbers of them to be printed and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not." To these, also, the same pious character added an impression (to the



number of eight thousand copies) of the Bible, and Liturgy of the Church of England, in the same language. This, his moderate circumstances could never have enabled him to accomplish, without the bountiful co-operation of numerous contributors, among whom Dr. Tillotson subscribed 50l.

In 1682, the Dean gave the public from the manuscripts of Bishop Wilkins a volume containing fifteen sermons, and prefaced with a vindication of that Prelate's character against the reflexions cast upon it in the '*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*,' inserted probably by Dr. Fell,\* Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church, under whose patronage that book was published in 1674. 'It had been often no small wonder to him (he remarks) whence it should come to pass, that so great a man and so great a lover of mankind, who had the inclination, the skill, and the opportunity to oblige so very many, and was so highly valued and revered by all who knew him, should yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy displeasure of those who knew him not; and that he, who never did any thing to make himself one personal enemy, should have the ill fortune to have so many.' "I think (adds he) I may truly say, that there are or have been very few in this age and nation so well

\* That this dignitary, though an eminent encourager of learning, and of exemplary conduct in his episcopal character, from a sense perhaps of his own sufferings before the Restoration was not incapable of excesses in cases of party, is evident from the letters, which passed between him and the Earl of Sunderland Secretary of State in 1684, relative to the expulsion of Locke from his studentship of Christ Church.

known, and so greatly esteemed and favoured, first by a judicious Prince, and then by so many persons of high rank and quality and of singular worth and eminency in all the learned professions, as our author was. And this surely cannot be denied him, it is so well known to many worthy persons yet living, and hath been so often acknowledged even by his enemies, that in the late times of confusion almost all that was kept up of ingenuity and learning, of good order and government, in the University of Oxford was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and encouragement."

The detection of the Rye-House Plot in 1683 opened a very melancholy scene, in which the Dean largely participated on account both of his friendships and his anxiety for the public good. One of the principal objects of his solicitude was the excellent Lord Russell.\*

Upon the condemnation of that nobleman Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his Lordship, and continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the former delivered

\* With Lady Russell the Dean cultivated a friendship in frequent correspondence, for a long period after her illustrious husband's death. It was at last interrupted, on her part, by a disorder in her eyes, increasing to such a degree as in 1694 to require couching. Upon this occasion, his Grace drew up a prayer two days afterward, in which he touched on the loss of her husband, "whom thy holy and righteous providence (says he) has permitted, *under a colour of law and justice, to be unjustly cut off from the land of the living:*" but over these latter words, after the first writing, he drew a line, as intending to erase them; probably from a reflexion that they might be too strong, or less suitable to a prayer.

to him a letter,\* entreating him to make a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. From the

\* This letter, which was a few days afterward (contrary to the writer's inclination) published to the world, was as follows:

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I was heartily glad to see your Lordship this morning in that calm and devout temper, at receiving the sacrament. But peace of mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little. And because transient discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore in tender compassion of your Lordship's case, and from all the good will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordship's deliberate thoughts these following considerations concerning the points of resistance if our religion and rights should be invaded (as your Lordship puts the case) concerning which I understood by Dr. Burnet that your Lordship had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change:

‘ First, that the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority.

‘ Secondly, that though our religion be established by law (which your Lordship argues, as a difference between our case and that of the primitive Christians) yet in the same law which establishes our religion it is declared, it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c. Beside that, there is a particular law declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the King: and this ties the hands of subjects, though the law of nature and the general rules of Scripture had left us at liberty, which I believe they do not, because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon these terms.

‘ Thirdly, your Lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches. And though some particular persons have thought otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Protestants. And I beg of your Lordship to consider, how it will agree with an avowed assertion of the Protestant Religion to go contrary to the general doctrine of the Protestants.

‘ My end in this is, to convince your Lordship that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake: and being so convinced,

same source originated the expressions, which he used in praying with his Lordship upon the scaffold:

that, which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature (as, in truth, it is) and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordship sincerely exercise, upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgement of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the Reformed Religion.

‘ I am very loth to give your Lordship any disquiet in the distress you are in, which I commiserate from my heart; but am much more concerned, that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false peace, to the hinderance of your eternal happiness.

‘ I heartily pray for you, and beseech your Lordship to believe, that I am with the greatest sincerity and compassion in the world,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordship’s most

‘ faithful and afflicted servant,

‘ *July 20, 1683.*

‘ JOHN TILLOTSON.’

The King wondering what could be said in reply to this letter, the Dean imparted to his Majesty Lord Russell’s opinion, that ‘ circumstances might arise in which it would be lawful to resist;’ and added, as his own, that ‘ it was not impossible to find out a case of exception, though he would not presently pretend to specify it.’ The Duke of York, with some warmth, urged him to name the case, to which he alluded; and not being satisfied, Charles mildly observed, “ Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest man: press him no farther.” After which he informed his Majesty, that Lord Russell had declared ‘ the King had never done any thing to justify rebellion against him: that he had never any such thought himself; and had kept company with those unhappy men, merely to preserve the Duke of Monmouth from being seduced by them into any rash undertaking.’ Being then asked, ‘ Why his Lordship did not discover their design to the King?’ he answered, ‘ Because he could not betray his friends, nor turn informer against them, while he saw

“Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence may learn our duty to God and the King!” And this prayer and letter were considered by the court (however erroneously) as conferring such a sanction upon their favourite doctrines, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was directed to insert copies of them in his ‘Considerations upon a Printed Sheet, entitled, The Speech of the late Lord Russell to the Sheriffs;’ in which he gives an account of the Dean’s pious and friendly visits, and commends him for “having discharged himself from first to last in all the parts of a churchman and of a

there was no danger: but if things had come to a crisis, he would have forwarded intelligence of their projects to his Majesty, and in case of violence he would himself have been ready to oppose them with his sword in hand.’ Russell’s firmness in refusing the only means of purchasing his life from an exasperated court, by the least retractation of an opinion of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight and influence in his own time, and have endeared him to posterity, being (as Sir William Temple, no enemy to the prerogative, acknowledges) “a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition.” Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, in his ‘True Account and Declaration of that Horrid Conspiracy against Charles II.’ by whose order it was written, though not published till under his successor, has indeed described his Lordship, “as a person carried away beyond his duty and allegiance into this traiterous enterprise by a vain air of popularity, and a wild suspicion of losing a great estate by an imaginary “return of popery.” But this very writer declared afterward, in his Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset, dated March 26, 1689, that ‘he lamented his Lordship’s fall, after he was fully convinced by discourse with the Dean of Canterbury of his great probity and constant abhorrence of falsehood.’

friend." Tillotson, subsequently, acquired more consistent principles in politics.

In 1685, he gave an exemplary proof of his truly Christian temper. When the persecution against the French Hugonots by the revocation of the Edict of Nantz became so intolerant, that thousands of families fled for refuge to the Protestant states of Europe, many of them came over to England, and were encouraged by the Dean to settle at Canterbury, where they amply repaid their protectors by establishing among them the silk-weaving manufactory. The King having granted briefs to collect alms for their relief, Tillotson exerted himself in procuring contributions from his friends; and when Dr. Beveridge, one of the Prebendaries of his cathedral, refused to read the papers, as being contrary to the rubric, he nobly rebuked him with "Doctor, Doctor, charity is above rubrics."

In 1683, he published the Works of Dr. Isaac Barrow; and, the year following, those of his excellent friend, Mr. Hezekiah Burton.

Not long afterward, he was seized with a disorder of the apoplectic kind. Under the impressions of this melancholy stroke, and the loss of his daughter which had immediately preceded it, he was summoned to administer consolation to an intimate friend, Mr. Nicholas Hunt of Canterbury, lingering under the effects of an incurable cancer. This he did, in the following letter:

' SIR,

' *Edmonton, Jan. 16, 1688.*

' I am sorry to understand by Mr. Janeway's letter to my son, that your distemper grows upon you, and

that you seem to decline so fast. I am very sensible, how much easier it is to give advice against trouble in the case of another, than to take it in our own.

‘ It hath pleased God to exercise me of late with a very sore trial in the loss of my dear and only child, in which I do perfectly submit to his good pleasure, firmly believing that he always does that which is best. And yet, though reason be satisfied, our passion is not so soon appeased ; and, when nature has received a wound, time must be allowed for the healing of it. Since that, God hath thought fit to give me a nearer summons, and a closer warning of my own mortality, in the danger of an apoplexy ; which yet, I thank God for it, hath occasioned no very melancholy reflexions. But this, perhaps, is more owing to natural temper, than philosophy and wise consideration.

‘ Your case I know is very different, who are of a temper naturally melancholy, and under a distemper apt to increase it ; for both which, great allowances ought to be made. And, yet methinks, both reason and religion do offer us considerations of that solidity and strength, as may very well support our spirits under all frailties and infirmities of the flesh ; such as these :

‘ That God is perfect love and goodness ; that we are not only his creatures, but his children, and as dear to him as to ourselves ; that he does not afflict willingly, or grieve, the children of men ; and that all evils and afflictions, which befall us, are intended for the cure and prevention of greater evils of sin and punishment ; and therefore we ought not only to submit to them with patience, as being deserved by us, but to receive them with thankfulness, as being

designed by him to do us that good, and to bring us to that sense of him and ourselves, which nothing else perhaps would have done: that the sufferings of this present time are but short and light, compared with that extreme and endless misery, which we have deserved, and with that “exceeding and eternal weight of glory” which we hope for in the other world: that, if we be careful to make the best preparations for death and eternity, whatever brings us nearer to our end brings us nearer to our happiness; and how rugged soever the way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to our Father’s House, where we shall want nothing that we can wish. When we labour under a dangerous distemper which threatens our life, what would we not be content to bear, in order to a perfect recovery, could we but be assured of it? And should we not be willing to endure much more, in order to perfect happiness and that eternal life which God, that “cannot lie,” hath promised? Nature, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be still lingering after a long continuance here. And yet a long life, with the usual burthens and infirmities of it, is seldom desirable. It is but the same thing over again, or worse; so many more nights and days, summers and winters, a repetition of the same pleasures, but with less pleasure and relish every day; a return of the same or greater pain and trouble, but with less strength and patience to bear them.

‘ These and the like considerations I use to entertain myself withal, not only with contentment but comfort, though with great inequality of temper at several times, and with much mixture of human frailties, which will always stick to us while we



are in this world. However, by these kinds of thoughts death will become more familiar to us, and we shall be able by degrees to bring our minds close up to it without starting at it. The greatest tenderness I find in myself is with regard to some near relations, especially the dear and constant companion of my life, which I must confess doth very sensibly touch me. But then I consider, and so I hope will they also, that this separation will be but a very little while; and that though I shall leave them in a bad world, yet under the care and protection of a good God, who can be more and better to them than all other relations, and will certainly be so to those that love him and hope in his mercy.

‘ I shall not advise you what to do, and what use to make of this time of your visitation. I have reason to believe, that you have been careful in the time of your health to prepare for the evil day, and have been conversant in those books which give the best directions to this purpose; and have not, as too many do, put off the great work of your life to the end of it. And then you have nothing to do but, as well as you can under your present weakness and pains, to renew your repentance for all the errors and miscarriages of your life, and earnestly to beg God’s pardon and forgiveness of them for His sake, who is the propitiation for our sins: to comfort yourself in the goodness and promises of God, and the hope of that happiness you are ready to enter into; and, in the mean time, to exercise faith and patience for a little while. And be of good courage, since you see land.

‘ The storm, which you are in, will soon be over; and then it will be as if it had never been, or rather the remembrance of it will be pleasant. I do not

use to write such long letters; but I do heartily compassionate your case, and should be glad if I could suggest any thing that might help to mitigate your trouble, and make that sharp and rugged way, through which you are to pass into a better world, a little more smooth and easy. I pray God to fit us both for that great change, which we must once undergo; and, if we be but in any good measure fit for it, sooner or later makes no great difference. I commend you to the "Father of all mercies, and the God of all consolation," beseeching him to increase your faith and patience, and to stand by you in your last and great conflict: that, "when you walk through the valley of the shadow of death, you may fear no evil;" and when your heart fails, and your strength fails, you may find him "the strength of your heart and your portion for ever."

' Farewell, my good friend; and whilst we are here, let us pray for one another, that we may have a joyful meeting in another world.

' I rest, Sir,

' Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

' J. TILLOTSON.'

Upon the subject of the Comprehension, agitated immediately after the Revolution, the Convocation summoned in compliance with the advice of the Commons to the new Sovereign, and the names, labours, and unfortunate feuds of the Thirty Divines appointed to prepare matters for it's consideration, the reader is referred to Nichols' 'Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England,' and Dr. Wordsworth's 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' VI. 516—525.

During the debate in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on William III. for life, the Princess Anne at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right: in which she was encouraged by her favourite, Lady Churchill, afterward Duchess of Marlborough. But that Lady, quickly perceiving that from the concurrence of all the principal men in the kingdom (with the exception of the Jacobites) the measure would certainly be carried, and wishing to evade some portion of the responsibility which might attach to the advisers of the opposition, solicited the opinions of several persons of wisdom and integrity, particularly of Lady Russell and the Dean of Canterbury. These concurring in the expediency of the settlement proposed, she introduced the latter to the Princess; and his influence prevailed upon her to forego her objections.

Upon the accession of the new Sovereigns, the Dean was admitted to a high degree of favour; and was appointed Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty. The refusal of Archbishop Sancroft to acknowledge their authority, and to take the oaths of allegiance, occasioning his suspension shortly afterward, William fixed upon Tillotson as his successor; though his ambition extended only to the exchange of his deanery for that of St. Paul's, then vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the see of Worcester. This was readily granted him, in 1689: but in this he was not permitted long to remain. The primacy, to which he had an almost unconquerable aversion, was yet to be imposed upon him.\*

\* The *pati regnum* of Quintus Curtius might, however, be predicated of Tillotson, without either force, or fiction. There are extant, adds Birch, in his common-place book the heads of a Let-

His reluctant acceptance of this dignity will best appear from his own words, in a letter to Lady

ter, which he addressed upon this occasion, most probably to William Earl of Portland, the favourite and confidant of William III.

‘ I beg of your Lordship, who have deservedly the freedom and credit with both their Majesties, which few others have, to possess them of two things; one whereof concerns the public, and the other myself.

1. ‘ Of the Church of England. \* \* \*

2. ‘ The other concerns myself. And I earnestly beg of your Lordship, to defend me from a bishopric. Few can believe one in this, but I hope your Lordship does. I am now upon the verge of threescore years of age. I have had great afflictions to wean me from the world, having, &c. I have had a loud summons by a fit of the apoplexy above a year ago. I feel the infirmities of age growing upon me. I cannot now do that in three weeks, which since I was fifty I could do in three days. It is a melancholy thought to me to \* \* in a bishopric, especially in the House of Peers, where there are some wise and so many witty young men, to make observations upon an old one. For the sake of the Protestant Religion, and their Majesties for whom I have so true an esteem, I would take any burthen upon me which I am able to stand under: but I do not love either the ceremony, or trouble, of a great place. When men are children again, it is fit they should not appear in public, but go back into the nursery. I desire to be as useful as I can, but I do not affect to be famous. I firmly believe another world, in which I do not think I shall be happier for having been famous in this. That little good, which I have been able to do, has been in the city of London, which I foresee will be stripped of it's ablest men; and if I can be serviceable any where, it is there: they that have known me for thirty years will best bear with my infirmities, and perhaps least discern them, because they see me every day, and the change will be insensible to them. I thank God, I have lived to have my last desire in this world, which was this happy Revolution; and now I care for no more, than to see it established. And I have declared my sense of this great deliverance so openly, and shall always do so, that I do not fear to be suspected of sullenness and discontent for my declining preferment, which is the only objection that I can foresee. I think

Russell upon the subject: "But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the King's hand for the

it may be somewhat for the honour of our religion, and the advantage of the government, to have one so hearty for both without any expectation or desire of preferment by it. This is the only vanity, I can be thought to be guilty of; and, if nobody else perhaps is so willing, I am contented to lie under the burthen of it. And it is not inconvenient there should be an example of one, that without any visible interest wisheth well to the public, and desires to deserve well of it. I beg of your Lordship, if there be need, as I hope there will not, to intercede for me in this particular; and the rather, because I hope nobody will prevent me in this petition, nor envy me the grant. As of all things I would not displease their Majesties, so I am confident they would not take from me the happiness of my life. . . .'

"He withstood it not (says Dr. Burnet) from any feeble, or fearful, considerations respecting himself: he was not afraid of a party, nor concerned in such censures and calumnies as might be thrown upon him: he was not unwilling to sacrifice the quiet of his life, which he apprehended might soon decline and sink under so great a load. The pomp of greatness, the attendance upon courts, and a high station were, indeed, very contrary to his genius; but, though these were grounds good enough to make him unwilling to rise higher in the world, yet none of them seemed strong enough to fix him to an obstinate refusal. That which went the deepest in his own mind, and which he laid out the more earnestly before their Majesties, was that those groundless prejudices with which his enemies had loaded him had been so industriously propagated, while they were neglected by himself, that he who (as his humility made him think) could at no time do any great service, was less capable of it now than ever." Even when he accepted the primacy, which he at last did with great "heaviness of mind," he resolved that whensoever the state of public affairs or his own increasing infirmities should render him unnecessary or unequal to the station, he would 'offer it up to their Majesties.' This kind of holy force, if we may so call it, had been used in the primitive times to many of the Fathers; nor was his carriage less humble, or his conduct less glorious, than theirs.

Instances of this species of self-denial are rare: but a re-

deanery of St. Paul's, I gave his Majesty my most humble thanks, and told him, that 'now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life.' He replied, "No such matter, I assure you;" and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, 'It was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience.' Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, 'That when his Majesty was at leisure, I did believe I could satisfy him, it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station in which he had now placed me.' This hath brought me into a real difficulty: for, on the one hand, it is hard to decline his Majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness as his Majesty is pleased to use toward me; on the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgement to it. This I owe to the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Burnet), one of the worst and best friends I know: best, for his singular good opinion of me; and worst, for directing the King to this method (which I know, he did) as if his Lordship and I had concerted the matter how to finish

markable one occurred, under Henry VIII., of another Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, great uncle to Sir Henry Wotton. When he was apprised of the intention to advance him to the mitre in 1539, he wrote to Dr. Bellasis from Dusseldorp, requesting him, 'for the passion of God to convey that bishopric from him.' "So I might," adds he, "avoid it without displeasure, I would surely never meddle with it. There be enow that be meet for it, and will not refuse it. I cannot marvel enough, *cur obtrudatur non cupienti, imò ne idoneo quidem*. My mind is as troubled, as my writing is—— Yours to his little power, Nicholas Wotton: add whatsoever you will more to it, if you add not 'Bishop.'"

this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a bishopric to catch an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the briars that, without his Majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face.

“ And now I will tell your Ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased by a very severe way,\* but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me: and I do verily believe, that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station, than in a higher, and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains, and little preferment: but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I shall sink under it, and grow melancholy and good for nothing; and, after a little while, die as a fool dies.”

The see of Canterbury, however, becoming vacant by the deprivation of Sancroft in 1690, and the King for several successive months continuing his importunities, the reluctant Dean complied, and he was consecrated on Whitsunday 1691, by Mew, Lloyd, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Ironside, and Hough,

\* The death of his only surviving child, Mary, wife of James Chadwicke, Esq. is here alluded to. It happened in 1687.

Bishops of Winchester, St. Asaph, Sarum, Worcester, Bristol, and of Oxford, respectively; in the presence of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Marquis of Carnarthen, Lord President of the Council, William Earl of Devonshire, and several other noblemen who were anxious by their attendance upon the occasion to express their respect for his Grace, and the great satisfaction which they felt at his promotion.

He continued however to live at the Deanery of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year; and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth House for his wife, and thoroughly repaired the whole of the palace.

The malice and party-rage, of which he had felt already some of the effects, now broke out with full force in all the forms of insult: of this one instance not commonly known deserves to be recorded. Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was paying his compliments upon the occasion, a packet was brought in, directed to his Grace, and enclosing in a blank paper a mask. The Archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; only saying with a smile, "This is a gentle rebuke, compared with some others lying there in black and white.\*"

The calumnies indeed confidently spread against him, joined with the envy which usually accompanies a high station, had a wider operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived upon the public stage. It seemed hard that a man,

\* Upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this: "These are libels. I pray God forgive the writers; I do."



who in the course of above thirty years had rendered services to so many persons, without ever doing an ill office to any one, and who had a gentleness in him that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore it all with entire submission to the will of God; nor did it change either his temper, or his maxims, though perhaps it might inwardly affect his health.

After the Archbishop had been nearly a year in his see, he found his conviction but too well substantiated, that ‘grandeur is not nearly so eligible, with regard to the possessor’s own ease and happiness, as persons at a distance from it are apt to imagine.’ To this purpose some reflexions occur in short hand in his common-place book, under the title of ‘Scattered Thoughts of My Own upon several Subjects and Occasions, begun this day (March 13, 1691) to be transcribed.’

‘One would be apt to wonder, that Nehemiah (Chap. v. 16—18.) should reckon a huge bill of fare, and a vast number of promiscuous guests, amongst his virtues and good deeds, for which he desires God to remember him. But upon better consideration, beside the bounty, and sometimes charity, of a great table (provided there be nothing of vanity, or ostentation, in it) there may be exercised two very considerable virtues; one is, temperance, and the other self-denial, in a man’s being contented for the sake of the public to deny himself so much, as to sit down every day to a feast, and to eat continually in a crowd, and almost never to be alone; especially when, as it often happens, a great part of the company that a man must have, is the company that a

man would not have. I doubt it will prove but a melancholy business, when a man comes to die, to have made a great noise and bustle in the world, and to have been known far and near; but all this while, to have been hid and concealed from himself. It is a very odd and fantastical sort of life, for a man to be continually from home, and most of all a stranger at his own house.

‘ It is surely an uneasy thing to sit always in a frame, and to be perpetually upon a man’s guard; not to be able to speak a careless word, or to use a negligent posture, without observation and censure. Men are apt to think that they, who are in highest places, and have the most power, have most liberty to say and do what they please. But it is quite otherwise; for they have the least liberty, because they are most observed. It is not mine own observation; a much wiser man (I mean Tully) says, *In maxima quaque fortuna minimum licere*: ‘ They, that are in the highest and greatest condition, have of all others the least liberty.’ In a moderate station, it is sufficient for a man to be indifferently wise. Such a man has the privilege to commit little follies and mistakes, without having any great notice taken of them. But he, that lives in the light, i. e. in the view of all men, his actions are exposed to every body’s observation and censure. We ought to be glad, when those that are fit for government, and called to it, are willing to take the burthen of it upon them; yea, and to be very thankful to them too, that they will be at the pains, and can have the patience, to govern and live publicly. Therefore it is happy for the world, that there are some, who are born and bred up to it; and that custom hath made it easy, or at

least tolerable, to them. Else who, that is wise, would undertake it; since it is certainly much easier of the two to obey a just and wise government (I had almost said, any government) than to govern justly and wisely. Not that I find fault with those, who apply themselves to public business and affairs. They do well, and we are beholden to them. Some by their education, and being bred up to great things, and to be able to bear and manage great business with more ease than others, are peculiarly fitted to serve God and the public in this way: and they, that do, are worthy of double honour.

‘ The advantage, which men have by a more devout and retired and contemplative life, is that they are not distracted about many things: their minds and affections are set upon one thing; and the whole stream and force of their affections run one way. All their thoughts and endeavours are united in one great end and design, which makes their life all of a piece, and so consistent with itself throughout.

‘ Nothing but necessity, or the hope of doing more good than a man is capable of doing in a private station (which a modest man will not easily presume concerning himself) can recompense the trouble, and uneasiness, of a more public and busy life.

‘ Beside that many men, if they understand themselves right, are the best in a lower and more private condition, and make a much more awkward figure in a higher and more public station; when perhaps, if they had not been advanced, every one would have thought them fit and worthy to have been so.

‘ And thus I have considered and compared impartially both these conditions, and upon the whole

matter, without any thing either of disparagement or discouragement to the wise and great. And, in my poor judgement, the more retired and private condition is the better and safer, the more easy and innocent, and consequently the more desirable of the two.

‘ Those, who are fitted and contented to serve mankind in the management and government of public affairs, are called ‘ Benefactors,’ and if they govern [well] deserve to be called so, and to be so accounted, for denying themselves in their own ease to do good to many.

‘ Not that it is perfection to go out of the world, and to be perfectly useless. Our Lord by his own example has taught us, that we can never serve God better, than when doing good to men: and that a perpetual retirement from the world, and shunning the conversation of men, is not the most religious life; but living amongst them, and doing good to them. The life of our Saviour is a pattern both of the contemplative and the active life, and shows us how to mix devotion and doing good to the greatest advantage. He would neither go out of the world, nor yet immerse himself in the cares and troubles, in the pleasures and plentiful enjoyments, much less in the pomp and splendor of it. He did not place religion (as too many have done since) in a total retirement from the world, and shunning the conversation of men, and taking care to be out of all condition and capacity of doing good to any body. He did not run away from the conversation of men, nor live in a wilderness, nor shut himself up in a pen. He lived in the world with great freedom, and with great innocency; hereby teaching us, that charity to

men is a duty no less necessary than devotion toward God. He        the world without leaving it. We read, indeed, that he was carried into the wilderness to be tempted: but we no where read, that he chose to live in a wilderness to avoid temptation.

‘The capacity and opportunity of doing greater good is the specious pretence, under which ambition is wont to cover the eager desire of power and greatness.

‘If it be said (which is the most spiteful thing, that can be said) that ‘some ambition is necessary to vindicate a man from being a fool;’ to this I think it may be fairly answered, and without offence, that there may perhaps be as much ambition in declining greatness, as in courting it: only it is of a more unusual kind, and the example of it less dangerous, because it is not like to be contagious.’

In all the representations which he laid before their Majesties he was so exactly correct, that he never either raised the character of his friends, or sunk that of those who from their own hostility alone could be called his enemies. His truth and candor were perceptible in whatever he said or did, his looks and manner concurring to put down all suspicion: he thought nothing, indeed, in this world worthy of being won by intrigue.

In 1693, he published four incomparable sermons on ‘The Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour;’ induced (as he himself observes, in a short advertisement prefixed to them) “not by that which is commonly alleged for printing books, the importunity of friends, but the importunate clamors and calumnies of others, whom the author heartily prays God to forgive.”

He did not long survive his advancement; for on Sunday November 17, 1694, while he was at the chapel in Whitehall, he was seized with a sudden illness. Though his countenance, however, showed that he was much indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper rendered it at last uneasy to him to speak; but his understanding, it appeared, was still clear, though others could not have the advantage of it. He continued serene and calm, and in broken words 'thanked God that he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven.'

He was attended, during the two last nights of his illness, by his friend Mr. Robert Nelson, author of 'The Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England;' in whose arms he expired, on the fifth day of his illness, in the sixty fifth year of his age.

He was a person, says one of his grateful pupils, of unblemished conversation, not to be charged with any either intemperance or covetousness, or any other vice whatsoever; which, as they are spots even in a layman's life, so they appear much more foul in a clergyman.

His more grave discourses were very weighty: he spoke apophthegms; and was very serious in giving good counsels, resolving doubts, and recommending religion and virtue.

As a preacher, he was practical. His discourses generally aimed, either to excite in men an awful sense of God, and to enkindle devotion toward him, or to stir up to a holy and virtuous conversation.

There were few remarkable texts of Scripture in-

deed, either of the Old or the New Testament, or rather few heads of practical divinity, which he did not handle at one time or the other in the course of his pulpit-labours. Hence he was by some, in the tone of censure, called ‘a moral preacher,’ as if he preached moral virtue rather than grace. And he assuredly forbore treating upon the inexplicable operations of grace, as some have taken upon them to do; teaching men in many instances to dispute, rather than to live, and too often (it is to be feared) possessing their minds with a kind of semi-enthusiasm, and by leading them to discover the marks of election in themselves encouraging in them too fond an estimate of their own pretensions, and too arrogant a contempt of those of others, to the neglect of the indispensable duties of love, charity, and justice. Dr. Tillotson however, upon proper occasions, magnified divine grace, and taught men to pray and labour for those divine assistances which the Almighty offers to their infirmities. But then he also knew, that Christians are obliged to lead good lives in all respects; both toward God, and men, and themselves.

Bishop Burnet preached his funeral sermon, from 2 Tim. iv. 7. ‘*I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.*’

The death of the Archbishop was lamented by Mr. Locke in a letter to Professor Limborch, not only ‘as a considerable loss to himself of a zealous and candid inquirer after truth whom he had consulted freely upon all doubts in theological subjects, and of a friend whose sincerity he had experienced for many years; but, likewise, as a very important one to the English nation, and the whole body of the Reformed Churches.’ And it affected both their Majesties with the deepest

concern. The Queen for many days spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears: as his own death prevented him from feeling the terrible shock, which, if he had lived about five weeks longer, he must have received from that of her Majesty, of whose virtues and accomplishments he had the highest admiration, and to whom her consort bore this testimony, that 'he could never see any thing in her which he could call a fault.' The King, likewise, never mentioned him but with some testimony of his singular esteem for his memory, and often used to declare to his son-in-law Mr. Chadwick, that 'he was the best man whom he ever knew, and the best friend whom he ever had.' And this seems thoroughly to confute a common traditional story, that his Majesty had represented himself as 'disappointed in our Archbishop and his successor Tennyson in opposite respects, having received much less service from the abilities of the former in business than from the latter, of whom he had not before conceived so high an expectation.'

The King's regard for the Archbishop extended to his widow. For his Grace's charity and generosity, with the expense of coming into the see and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had so exhausted his fortune, that if his First-fruits had not been forgiven him by the King, his debts could not have been paid; and he left nothing to his family but the copy of his Posthumous Sermons, which was afterward sold for 2,500 guineas. His Majesty therefore granted to Mrs. Tillotson, in 1695, an annuity of 400*l.* during her natural life, and in 1698, 200*l.* a year more; both which were continued till her death on January 20, 1700. For the regular



payment of these pensions without any deduction the royal donor was so solicitous, that he always called for the money quarterly, and sent it to her himself.

His Grace's theological publications are still held in the highest repute, and have been frequently reprinted; many of his sermons, likewise, have been translated into foreign languages. The best edition of his works was published in three volumes folio, by Dr. Birch, in 1752.

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In answer to a Letter upon the subject of his Treatise entitled '*Judicium expetitur super Dissidio Anglicano, et capitibus quæ ad Unionem seu Comprehensionem faciunt*,' he wrote as follows:

“ *Viro admodum Domino Frederico Spanhemio, in Academiâ Lugd. Bat. S. Theol. Professori dignissimo.*

“ *Quòd literis tuis, Vir clarissime, sanè quam humanissimis non citiùs rescripserim, causa fuit adversa valetudo; cui ut mederer, et animum recrearem atque reficerem, rus ire necesse mihi fuit: nunc autem, gratiâ Dei, commodiore quidem utor valetudine, at nondum etiam benè confirmatâ.*

“ *Tractatum de pace et Unione Dissidentium apud nos Protestantium cum Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ tuam, quem mecum serenissima Regina communicavit, avidè perlegi et summâ cum delectatione. In eo judicium acre idemque subactum, eruditionem eximiam, in antiquioris Ecclesiæ disciplinâ ritibusque peritiam singularem, et quod præcipuum est, mentem et animum verè Christianum ubique deprehendi. Pauca fortasse sunt, et eadem haud ita*

*magni momenti (articulum de Sacris Ordinibus iterandis excipio) in quibus paulo difficilius erit invenire temperamentum, cujus ope partes inter se litigantes aliquando concordare possint. Ecclesiæ enim nostræ plebs, non secus ac Dissidentium cætum, suas etiam habet superstitiones et opiniones præjudicatas; cujus ut ratio habeatur in rebus ab Ecclesiâ nostrâ concedendis jus et æquum est, ne offensa deficiat à nobis ad Ecclesiam Romanam. Longum aded foret ea nunc singillatim persequi; multo commodior erit de his disserendi locus, cùm occasio propior advenerit.*

*Stillingfletius ille noster, nunc ecclesiæ Vigorniensis Episcopus, cujus in tuis ad me literis mentionem facis, de quo Ecclesia nostra merito gloriatur, is etiam nunc in eadem quâ nos sententiâ perstat. Porro sunt alii permulti, et hi Ecclesiæ nostræ decora et ornamenta, in quibus magna videtur esse animorum inclinatio ad pacem et concordiam. In horum me numerum referre mihi non assumo, tantis et tam præclaris viris neutiquam comparandus; tametsi tu, vir reverende, pro humanitate tuâ et summâ erga me benevolentia nimio plus tribuis judicio meo de his controversiis. Unum magnoperè dolendum censeo, multos esse ex utràque parte, tum Ecclesiæ nostræ, tum Dissidentium, qui rationem et viam pacis non norunt. Quem igitur exitum hæc consilia pacis tandem habitura sint, divinare nequeo. Ut nunc est in Angliâ, nihil hujusmodi impræsentiarum tentandum arbitror, sed expectandum donec tempora magis pacata fuerint; quæ, si fortissimo Regi juvante Deo, omnia prosperè et ex bonorum omnium sententiâ ceciderint, non procul*

*abesse auguror. Quid enim desperandum sub auspiciis religiosissimorum et prudentissimorum principum; Regis, dico, nostri et Reginae?*

*Quapropter si me audis, vir eximie, rectè sapienterque feceris, si Tractatum tuum in vulgus edere distuleris, quoad certior spes secundi successus affulserit.*

*Illustrissimus Comes Portlandius, consilii hujus pacifici ex animo fautor et adjutor, hæc omnia et universum rerumstrarum statum fusiùs exponet; cui si studium meum et obsequium confirmare volueris, gratissimum mihi fèceris.*

*Condonabis mihi, spero, negligentiam purioris Latinitatis, ad quam invitus admodùm redeo post triginta plus annorum desuetudinem, quoniam in concionibus habendis et in omni pastoralis munere obeundo ætatem penè consumsi. Veniam igitur pro hac re à candore tuo petit is, quem ubique cognosces,*

*Vir clarissime,*

*Reverentiæ tuæ addictissimum atque omni officiorum genere et obsequio devinctissimum,*

*Feb. 6, 1691.*

*JO. TILLOTSON.*

*Amicum tuum, cui literas ad me dedisti, non vidi ex quo mihi eas reddidit. Hominem investigabo; cum ad aulam rediero, ac libens juvabo quâ ratione cunque potero.*

# SIR GEORGE SAVILE,

MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.\*

[1630—1695.]

**T**HIS nobleman was the eldest son of Sir William Savile, Baronet, of an ancient Yorkshire family. By the date of his return from his travels it is conjectured, that he was born about the year 1630. Of the early part of his life, however, all we know is, that he was extremely active in effecting the restoration of Charles II.: that, soon after that era, he discovered eminent political talents; and that, in consideration of his own and his father's loyalty, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Savile of Eland and Viscount Halifax, in 1672; and the same year visited Holland as Joint Commissioner with the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington, to negotiate a peace between France and the States General, in which from the envy of his colleagues he met with great opposition.

In 1675, a bill was brought into the House of Peers, by which the members of the legislature and

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, and *British Biography*.

all public functionaries were required to swear, that ‘it was not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever forcibly to resist the King;’ that ‘they abhorred the traitorous position of taking up arms against his person, or against those commissioned by him;’ and that ‘they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Protestant Religion, or of the established government either in Church or State.’ But this iniquitous measure, by which it was intended to exclude from parliament and public employment all who were not friends of passive obedience and non-resistance, encountered vigorous opposition; and Lord Halifax, among others, zealously exerted himself against it.

In 1676, through the interest of the Lord Treasurer Danby, he was removed from the Council Board. Upon a change in the ministry however, in 1679, he was re-appointed to it. The same year, in the consultations upon the Exclusion-bill, though he resisted the measure itself, he recommended such limitations of James’ authority in the event of his accession to the throne, as should disable him from doing mischief; transferring from his hands to those of the two Houses of parliament all power in ecclesiastical matters, in disposing of the public money, and in making peace and war; and proposing that ‘the parliament in being at the King’s death should continue without a new summons, and assume the administration:’ limitations, as it was contended by some of Halifax’s friends, so advantageous to public liberty, that a patriot might almost be tempted to wish for a Popish Sovereign, in order to have them realised. Upon these suggestions, a schism occurred in the new

Council; the Earl of Shaftesbury warmly opposing them, while Essex and Sunderland were equally strenuous in their favour.

When the bill was brought into the Upper House, Lord Halifax appeared with great resolution at the head of the debates against it; and "on this occasion," as we are informed by Mr. Hume, "displayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly." His exertions, indeed, were so signal, that the Commons soon afterward addressed the King to 'remove him from his councils and presence for ever.' But he prevailed upon his Majesty to adopt the very different measure of dissolving the parliament. In 1679, he was created Earl of Halifax. His royal master deferring however to call a new parliament, notwithstanding his promise, he is said to have fallen sick through vexation of mind; and he expostulated severely with those who were sent to him upon the occasion, refusing both the Secretaryship of State, and the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

A parliament being summoned in 1680, his Lordship, still in opposition to the Exclusion-bill, gained signal reputation by his management of the debates. The Lower House carried up a new address for his removal. Upon the rejection of the bill by the Lords, he proceeded to press them, though without success, on the subject of limitations; and began with moving, that 'the Duke of York might be obliged to live five hundred miles out of England during the existing reign.'

In August 1683, he was created Marquis of Halifax, soon afterward made Lord Privy Seal, and upon

the accession of the new Sovereign, President of the Council. But on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was told by James, that 'though he could never forget his past services, since he would not comply in that point, he was resolved to have all of a piece;' and dismissed from his employments.

He was subsequently consulted by Mr. Sidney, whether he would advise the Prince of Orange's coming over: but as the matter was opened to him with great caution, he did not encourage any farther communication. He deemed the attempt, indeed, connected as it was with numerous contingencies, impracticable. Upon William's arrival, he was sent, with the Earls of Rochester and Godolphin, to treat with his Highness.

Of the assembly of the Lords, which met upon James' withdrawing himself the first time from Whitehall, Halifax was appointed President; and on his Majesty's return from Feversham, he was despatched with the Earls of Shrewsbury and Delamer by the Prince of Orange, with a message directing him to retire to some place in the country. In the Convention-Parliament he was chosen Speaker of the Upper House, and strenuously supported the motion of the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive sovereignty of William and Mary, upon whose accession he was again made Lord Privy Seal.

But in the session of 1689, he quitted the interest of the court, and became a zealous opposer of all its measures till his death, which happened in April, 1695. When he saw his dissolution, from the gangrene of a long-neglected rupture, inevitably approaching, he evinced a philosophical firmness of

mind with much contrition for the errors of his past life, and professed himself a sincere believer in the truth and partaker in the hopes of the Gospel.

He was a man of fine genius, considerable learning, and great eloquence ; celebrated for his wit, but censured occasionally for his imprudent exertion of it. The liveliness of his imagination, indeed, it has been affirmed, sometimes got the better of his judgement ; for he would never lose his jest, though it spoiled his argument, in the gravest debate. He was, also, charged with being unsteady in his principles. Hume, speaking of him, says ; “ This man, who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity of all employed in public affairs during the reign of Charles II., affected a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body known by the denomination of ‘ Trimmers.’ This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not however procure him the former character ; and he was always with reason regarded as an intriguer, rather than a patriot.” His private character \* appears to have been amiable : he was punctual in his payments, and just and honourable in all his transactions. He was succeeded in his honours and estates by his son William : who dying without male-issue in 1700, the dignity became extinct in his family ; and the title of Baron Halifax

\* He was the patron of the Rev. W. Mompesson, Rector of Eyam in Derbyshire, who so nobly tended his flock during the plague in 1666. That clergyman's Letter to Sir George, on losing his wife by it's ravages (which with two others, simple and interesting ones, is preserved in Miss Seward's Correspondence) proves that the patroniser and the patronised were quite worthy of each other.



was revived in the person of Charles Montagu, the same year, with remainder to his elder brother George and his issue male. His subsequent titles of Viscount Sunbury and Earl of Halifax, conferred in 1714, expired with him the following year; but were re-conferred upon his brother, and finally became extinct in 1772.

The Marquis left behind him the following pieces :

I. ‘ The Lady’s New Year’s Gift, or Advice to a Daughter.’ \*

This is an excellent piece; containing, as Mr. Granger observes, more good sense in fewer words, than is perhaps to be found in any of his contemporary authors.

II. ‘ The Character of a Trimmer : his Opinion of the Laws and Government, the Protestant Religion, the Papists, and Foreign Affairs.’

In this piece, the noble writer has given his own political sentiments at large; and, if these sentiments are compared with his conduct, perhaps the latter will appear more consistent and uniform than it has commonly been supposed to be.

III. ‘ The Anatomy of an Equivalent.’

IV. ‘ A Letter to a Dissenter, upon Occasion of his Majesty’s (James II.) late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.’

V. ‘ Some Cautions offered to the Consideration of those, who are to choose Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament.’ \*

There are many observations in this piece well worthy the attention of all Constituents.

\* See the Extracts.

VI. 'A rough Draught of a new Model at Sea, 1694.

VII. 'Maxims of State. \* By a Person of Honour.'

All the above tracts were collected, and published in one volume 8vo., in 1704.

He wrote also, 'Historical Observations upon the Reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II., with Remarks upon their faithful Councillors and false Favourites;' and some other small pieces.

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### EXTRACTS.

*From the last-named publication are selected the following:*

1. 'A prince, who falleth out with the laws, breaketh with his best friends.'

2. 'The exalting of his own authority above his laws is like letting-in his enemy to surprise his guards. The laws are the only guards, he can be sure will never run away from him.'

5. 'Arbitrary power is like most other things that are very hard; they are, also, very apt to break.'

7. 'Where the least useful part of the people have the most credit with the prince, men will conclude,

\* "Have you seen Lord Halifax's Book of Maxims?" asks Warburton, in one of his Letters. "He was the ablest man of business in his time. You will not find the depth of Rochefoucault's, nor his malignity. Licence enough, as to religion. They are many of them very solid, and I persuade myself were made occasionally, as the affairs of those times occurred, while he was in business: and we lose half their worth, by not knowing the occasions. Several of them are the commonest thoughts, or most obvious truths, prettily turned: some, still lower, pay us with the jingling of sound for sense."

that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.'

9. ' If ordinary beggars are whipped, the daily beggars in fine clothes, out of a proportionable respect to their quality, ought to be hanged.'

17. ' If a prince does not show an aversion from knaves, there will be an inference that will be very natural, let it be never so unmannerly.'

18. ' A prince, who followeth his own opinion too soon, is in danger of repenting it too late.'

19. ' The prince is to take care, that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the same time; for, though the first beginning of their ill-humour should be against one another, yet if not stopped, it will naturally end in anger against him.'

22. ' A wise prince will support good servants against men's anger, and not support ill ones against their complaint.'

27. ' Changing hands, without changing measures, is as if a drunkard in a dropsy should change his doctors, and not his diet.'

30. ' Quality alone should only serve to make a show in the embroidered part of the government; but ignorance, though never so well born, should never be admitted to spoil the public business.'

33. ' A people may let a king fall, yet still remain a people; but, if a king let his people slip from him, he is no longer king.'

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*From the 'Advice to a Daughter.'*

' The first thing to be considered, is Religion. It must be the chief object of your thoughts; since it would be a vain thing to direct your behaviour in the

world, and forget that which you are to have toward him that made it.

‘ In a strict sense, it is the only thing necessary: you must take it into your mind, and thence throw it into your heart, where you are to embrace it so close, as never to lose the possession of it. But, then, it is necessary to distinguish between the reality and the pretence.

‘ Religion doth not consist in believing the legends of the nursery, where children with their milk are fed with the tales of witches, hobgoblins, &c. We suck in so greedily these early mistakes, that our riper understanding hath much ado to cleanse our minds from this kind of trash: the stories are so entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them; which makes the discovery of the truth somewhat grievous, when it makes us lose such a field of impertinence, where we might have diverted ourselves, beside the throwing some shame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the world a jest, and imputing to God Almighty, that the province he assigneth to the devil is to play at blindman’s buff, and show tricks with mankind; and is so far from being religion, that it is not sense, and hath a right only to be called that kind of devotion, of which ignorance is the undoubted mother without competition or dispute. These mistakes are, therefore, to be left off with your hanging-sleeves; and you ought to be as much out of countenance to be found with them about you, as to be seen playing with babies at an age when other things are expected from you.

‘ The next thing to be observed to you is, that religion doth as little consist in loud answers and devout convulsions at church, or praying in an extraordinary manner. Some ladies are so extremely stir-

ring at church, that one would swear the worm in their conscience made them so unquiet. Others will have such a divided face between a devout goggle and an inviting glance, that the unnatural mixture maketh even the best looks to be at that time ridiculous. These affected appearances are ever suspected, like very strong perfumes, which are generally thought no very good symptoms in those that make use of them. Let your earnestness, therefore, be reserved for your closet, where you may have God Almighty to yourself: in public, be still and calm, neither indecently careless, nor affected in the other extreme.

‘ It is not true devotion, to put on an angry zeal against those, who may be of a different persuasion. Partiality to ourselves makes us often mistake it for a duty, to fall hard upon others in that case: and being pushed on by self-conceit, we strike without mercy, believing that the wounds we give are meritorious, and that we are fighting God Almighty’s quarrel; when the truth is, we are only setting out ourselves. Our devotion too often breaketh out into that shape, which most agreeth with our particular temper. The cholerick grow into a hardened severity against all, who dissent from them; snatch at all the texts of Scripture, that suit with their complexion; and because God’s wrath was sometime kindled, they conclude that anger is a divine virtue, and are so far from imagining their ill-natured zeal requireth an apology, that they value themselves upon it and triumph in it. Others, whose nature is more credulous than ordinary, admit no bounds or measure to it. They grow as proud of extending their faith, as princes are of enlarging their dominions: not considering that our faith, like our stomach, is capable of being over-

charged; and, that as the last is destroyed by taking in more than it can digest, so our reason may be extinguished by oppressing it with the weight of too many strange things; especially, if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to swallow. The melancholy and the sullen are apt to place a great part of their religion in dejected or ill-humoured looks, putting on an unsociable face, and declaiming against the innocent entertainments of life with as much sharpness as they could bestow upon the greatest crimes. This, generally, is only a vizard; there is seldom any thing real in it. No other thing is the better for being sour; and it would be hard, that religion should be so, which is the best of things. In the mean time it may be said with truth, that this surly kind of devotion hath perhaps done little less hurt in the world by frightening, than the most scandalous examples have done by infecting it.

‘ Having told you in these few instances, to which many more might be added, what is not true religion, it is time to describe to you what is so. The ordinary definitions of it are no more like it, than the common sign-posts are like the princes they would represent. The unskilful daubers in all ages have generally laid on such ill colours, and drawn such harsh lines, that the beauty of it is not easily to be discerned: they have put in all the forbidding features that can be thought of, and in the first place have made it an irreconcilable enemy to nature; when in reality they are not only friends, but twins born together at the same time, and it is doing violence to them both to go about to have them separated. Nothing is so kind, and so inviting, as true and unsophisticated religion. Instead of imposing unnecessary burthens upon our nature, it easeth us of the greater

weight of our passions and mistakes ; instead of subduing us with rigour, it redeemeth us from the slavery we are in to ourselves, who are the most severe masters while we are under the usurpation of our appetites let loose and not restrained.

‘ Religion is a cheerful thing ; so far from being always at cuffs with good-humour, that it is inseparably united to it. Nothing unpleasant belongs to it, though the spiritual cooks have done their unskilful part to give an ill relish to it. A wise epicure would be religious for the sake of pleasure : good sense is the foundation of both, and he is a bungler, who aimeth at true luxury but where they are joined.

‘ Religion is exalted reason, refined and sifted from the grosser parts of it : it dwelleth in the upper region of the mind, where there are fewest clouds or mists to darken or offend it : it is both the foundation, and the crown, of all virtues : it is morality improved and raised to it’s height, by being carried nearer heaven, the only place where perfection resideth : it cleanseth the understanding, and brusheth off the earth that hangeth about our souls : it doth not want the hopes, and the terrors, which are made use of to support it ; neither ought it to descend to the borrowing of any argument out of itself, since there we may find every thing that should invite us. If we were to be hired to religion, it is able to outbid the corrupted world, with all it can offer to us ; being so much the richer of the two, in every thing where reason is admitted to be a judge of the value.

‘ Since this is so, it is worth your pains to make religion your choice, and not make use of it only as a refuge. There are ladies, who finding by the too

visible decay of their good looks, that they can shine no more by that light; put on the varnish of an affected devotion to keep up some kind of figure in the world. They take sanctuary in the church, when they are pursued by growing contempt, which will not be stopped, but followeth them to the altar. Such late penitence is only a disguise for the tormenting grief of being no more handsome. This is the killing thought, which draweth the sighs and tears, that appear outwardly to be applied to a better end.

‘ There are many who have an aguish devotion, hot and cold fits, long intermissions and violent raptures. This unevenness is, by all means, to be avoided. Let your method be a steady course of good life, that may run like a smooth stream, and be a perpetual spring to furnish to the continued exercise of virtue. Your devotion may be earnest, but it must be unconstrained; and, like other duties, you must make it your pleasure too, or else it will have very little efficacy. By this rule, you may best judge of your own heart. While those duties are joys, it is an evidence of their being sincere: but when they are a penance, it is a sign, that your nature maketh some resistance; and while that lasteth, you can never be entirely secure of yourself.

‘ If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touched by the cross accidents of life, your devotion is not of the right standard: there is too much alloy in it. That, which is right and unmixed, taketh away the sting of every thing that would trouble you. It is like a healing balm, that extinguisheth the sharpness of the blood; so this softeneth, and dissolveth, the anguish of the mind. A devout mind hath the privilege of being free from passions, as some climates are.



from all venomous kind of creatures. It will raise you above the little vexations, to which others for want of it will be exposed; and bring you to a temper, not of stupid indifference, but of such a wise resignation that you may live in the world, so as it may hang about you like a loose garment, and not tied too close to you.

‘ Take heed of running into that common error, of applying God’s judgements upon particular occasions. Our weights and measures are not competent to make the distribution either of his mercy, or of his justice. He hath thrown a veil over these things, which makes it not only an impertinence, but a kind of sacrilege, for us to give sentence in them without his commission.

‘ As to your particular faith, keep to the religion that is grown up with you, both as it is the best in itself, and that the reason of staying in it upon that ground is somewhat stronger for your sex, than it will perhaps be allowed to be for ours; in respect that the voluminous inquiries into the truth, by reading, are less expected from you. The best of books will be direction enough to you not to change; and while you are fixed and sufficiently confirmed in your own mind, you will do best to keep vain doubts and scruples at such a distance, that they may give you no disquiet.

‘ Let me recommend you to a method of being rightly informed, which can never fail: it is, in short, this—Get understanding, and practise virtue. And if you are so blessed as to have those for your share, it is not surer that there is a God, than it is, that by him all necessary truths will be revealed to you.

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‘ In your clothes, avoid too much gaudy. Do not

value yourself upon an embroidered gown; and remember that a reasonable word, or an obliging look, will gain you more respect than all your fine trappings. This is not said, to restrain you from a decent compliance with the world, provided you take the wiser, and not the foolisher, part of your sex for your pattern. Some distinctions are to be allowed, while they are well suited to your quality and fortune; and, in the distribution of the expense, it seemeth to me that a full attendance and well-chosen ornaments for your house will make you a better figure, than too much glittering in what you wear, which may with more ease be imitated by those that are below you. Yet this must not tempt you to starve every thing but your own apartment; or, in order to more abundance there, give just cause to the least servant you have, to complain of the want of what is necessary. Above all, fix it in your thoughts, as an unchangeable maxim, that nothing is truly fine but what is fit; and that just so much, as is proper for your circumstances of their several kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it. When you once break through these bounds, you launch into a wide sea of extravagance. Every thing will become necessary, because you have a mind to it; not because it is fit for you, but because somebody else hath it. This lady's logic setteth reason upon it's head, by carrying the rules from things to persons, and appealing from what is right to every fool that is in the wrong. The word, 'necessary,' is miserably applied; it disordereth families, and overturneth governments, by being so abused. Remember, that children and fools want every thing, because they want wit to distinguish: and, therefore, there is no stronger evidence of a crazy understanding than the

making too large a catalogue of things ‘necessary,’ when in truth there are so very few things that have a right to be placed in it. Try every thing first in your judgement, before you allow it to place in your desire; else, your husband may think it as necessary for him to deny, as it is for you to have, whatever is unreasonable; and, if you shall too often give him that advantage, the habit of refusing may perhaps reach to things that are not unfit for you.

‘ There are unthinking ladies, who do not enough consider how little their own figure agreeth with the fine things they are so proud of. Others, when they have them, will hardly allow them to be visible: they cannot be seen without light, and that is many times so saucy and so pressing, that like a too forward gallant it is to be forbidden the chamber. Some, when you are ushered into their dark *ruelle*, it is with such solemnity, that a man would swear there was something in it; till the unskilful lady breaketh silence, and beginneth a chat, which discovereth it is a puppet-play with magnificent scenes. Many esteem things rather as they are to be gotten, than that they are worth getting. This looketh, as if they had an interest to pursue that maxim because a great part of their own value dependeth upon it. Truth in these cases would be often unmannerly, and might derogate from the prerogative great ladies would assume to themselves, of being distinct creatures from those of their sex, which are inferior and of less difficult access.

‘ In other things, too, your condition must give the rule to you; and, therefore, it is not a wife’s part to aim at more than a bounded liberality: the farther extent of that quality (otherwise to be commended)

belongeth to the husband, who hath better means for it. Generosity, wrong-placed, becometh a vice. It is no more a virtue, when it groweth into an inconvenience; virtues must be enlarged, or restrained, according to differing circumstances. A princely mind will undo a private family: therefore things must be suited, or else they will not deserve to be commended, let them in themselves be never so valuable: and the expectations of the world are best answered, when we acquit ourselves in that manner which seemeth to be prescribed to our several conditions, without usurping upon those duties which do not so particularly belong to us. I will close the consideration of this article of expense with this short word: do not fetter yourself with such a restraint in it, as may make you remarkable; but remember that virtue is the greatest ornament, and good sense the best equipage.

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*Cautions for Choice of Members of Parliament.*

‘ XIII. It would be of very great use to take general resolution throughout the kingdom, that none should be chosen for a county, but such as have either in possession or reversion a considerable estate in it; nor for a borough, except he be resident, or that he hath some estate in the county in present or expectancy.

‘ There have been eminent men of law who were of opinion, that in the case of a burgess of a town not resident, the court is to give judgement according to the statute, notwithstanding custom to the contrary.

‘ But not to insist now upon that, the pruden-

tial part is argument enough to set up a rule to abrogate an ill custom.

‘ There is not, perhaps, a greater cause of the corruption of parliaments, than by adopting members who may be said to have no title by their births.

‘ The juries, are by the law, to be *ex vicineto*; and shall there be less care, that the representatives of the people be so too?

‘ Sure the interest of the county is best placed in the hands of such as have some share in it.

‘ The outliers are not so easily kept within the pale of the laws.

‘ They are often chosen without being known, which is more like choosing Valentines than members of parliament. The motive of their standing is more justly to be supposed that they may redress their own grievances which they know, than those of the country to which they are strangers.

‘ They are chosen at London to serve in Cornwall, &c. and are often parties before they come to be representatives: one would think the reproach it is for a county, not to have men within their own circle to serve them in parliament, should be argument enough to reject these trespassers, without urging the ill consequences in other respects of being admitted.

‘ XIV. As in some cases it is advisable to give a total exclusion to men not fitly qualified, so in others it is more proper to lay down a general rule of caution, with allowance of some exceptions, where men have given such proofs of themselves as create a right for them to be distinguished.

‘ Of this nature is that which I shall say concern-

ing Lawyers, who by the same reason that they may be useful, may be also very dangerous.

‘ The negligence and want of application in gentlemen hath made them [lawyers] to be thought more necessary than naturally they are in parliament.

‘ They have not only engrossed the chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled except it be by a man of the robe.

‘ This maketh it worthy of the more serious reflexion of all gentlemen, that it may be an argument to them to qualify themselves in parliamentary learning in such a manner, as that they may rely upon their own abilities in order to the serving of their country.

‘ But to come to the point in question: it is not without precedent, that practising lawyers have been excluded from serving in parliament; and without following those patterns strictly, I cannot but think it reasonable that, whilst a parliament sitteth, no member of parliament should plead at any bar.

‘ The reason of it is in many respects strong in itself, and is grown much stronger by the long sitting of parliaments of late: but I will not dwell upon this; the matter now in question being concerning lawyers being elected, which I conceive should be done with so much circumspection, that probably it would not often happen.

‘ If lawyers have great practice, that ought to take them up: if not, it is no great sign of their ability; and at the same time giveth a suspicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

‘ If it should be so in fact, that no King ever wanted Judges to soften the stiffness of the laws that

were made so as to make them suit better with the reason of state and the convenience of the government; it is no injury now to suppose it possible for lawyers in the House of Commons so to behave themselves in the making of new laws, as the better to make way for the having their robes lined with fur.

‘ They are men used to argue on both sides of a question; and if ordinary fees can inspire them with very good reasons in a very ill cause, that faculty exercised in parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to those that choose them.

‘ And therefore, without arraigning a profession that it would be scandalous for a man not to honour, one may by a suspicion (which is the more excusable, when it is in the behalf of the people) imagine, that the habit of taking money for their opinion may create in some such a forgetfulness to distinguish that they may take it for their vote.

‘ They are generally men, who by a laborious study hope to be advanced: they have it in their eye, as a reward for the toil they undergo.

‘ This maketh them generally very slow, and ill disposed (let the occasion never so much require it) to wrestle with that soil where preferment groweth.

‘ Now if the supposition be in itself not unreasonable, and that it should happen to be strengthened and confirmed by experience, it will be very unnecessary to say any more upon this article, but leave it to the electors to consider of it.’

## SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.\*

[1628—1698.]

**T**HIS eminent statesman, descended from a younger branch of the Temples of Temple Hall, Leicestershire, was grandson of Sir William Temple (Secretary to the unfortunate Earl of Essex, and subsequently Provost of Trinity College, Dublin) and son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland in the reign of Charles I., by Mary, sister of Dr. Henry Hammond. He was born in London, in the year 1628.

From his youth he discovered a singularly penetrating genius, and a remarkable thirst after knowledge, which his father anxiously cultivated by a liberal education. At eight years of age, he was sent to school at Penshurst in Kent, under the care of his uncle Dr. Hammond, then minister of that parish. Thence, at ten, he was transferred to the tuition of Mr. Leigh of Bishop Stortford; and, at seventeen, he was placed at Emanuel College, Cambridge, under Dr. Ralph Cudworth, author of ‘The Intellectual System.’

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Boyer’s *Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple*; Temple’s *Life*, prefixed to his *Works*; and Birch’s *Lives of Illustrious Persons*.



There he distinguished himself by the improvements which he made in various parts of learning; having, in addition to the ancient tongues, rendered himself perfect master of the French and the Spanish. So that, upon leaving college, he had largely qualified himself for the employments of public life.

At nineteen, he set off on his travels into France: on his way through the Isle of Wight, he met the lady who subsequently became his wife, Mrs. Dorothy Osborn; accompanied her and her brother to France; and having passed two years in that country, returned home by Holland, Flanders, and Germany.

During the Usurpation he led a private life with his wife, father, two brothers, and a sister in Ireland; spending his time chiefly in his closet in the investigations of history and philosophy, and refusing all public appointments till the Restoration, when he was chosen member of the Convention in Ireland, as he was likewise in the subsequent parliament for the county of Carlow. In 1662, he was appointed one of the Commissioners from the Irish parliament to the King.

Thenceforward, for twenty years, he continued to act as a Councillor of State. This period, comprehending the interval from his thirty fourth to his fifty fourth year, he deemed the period most fit to be dedicated to the service of his country; the rest being, as he observed, too much taken up previously with pleasure, and afterward with ease.

To give a particular account of his labours at home and abroad, would lead us into a tedious detail of the foreign transactions of the reign of Charles II. We shall, therefore, only notice the most material nego-

tiations, which he had a principal share in conducting. Of these the first, which was set on foot to induce the Bishop of Munster to enter into the Dutch war as an ally to the English Monarch, he concluded with more expedition than his Court had anticipated; though the preliminaries had been previously settled by a correspondence between that Prelate and the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State. It was managed indeed with such address, that the Bishop was in the field at the head of his troops, before the other powers of Europe had any suspicion of the measure. Upon this occasion, Mr. Temple travelled in disguise, and suffered some hardships; and, on the conclusion of the treaty, a resident's commission was forwarded to him at Brussels with a patent of baronetcy.

The following year, he sent for his family from England: but, before their arrival, he found himself obliged to set out a second time for Munster, to prevent the Bishop (in resentment of the non-payment of his subsidy) from making peace with the Dutch. Having arranged this matter to the satisfaction of both Courts, he returned to Brussels, whence at the latter end of the year he accompanied his sister on a visit to Holland, *incognito*. While he was at the Hague, he made a private visit to the celebrated Pensionary De Witt,\* which laid the foundation of his future

\* "The catastrophe of De Witt (observes Mr. Fox) the wisest, best, and most truly patriotic minister that ever appeared upon the public stage, as it was an act of the most crying injustice and ingratitude, so likewise is it the most discouraging example that history affords to the lovers of liberty. If Aristides was banished, he was also recalled: if Dion was repaid for his services to the Syracusans by ingratitude, that ingratitude was more than once repented of: if Sidney and Russell died upon the scaffold, they had not the cruel mortification of falling by the

intimacy with that truly illustrious patriot, and occasioned his being employed to sound him on the subject of the Triple Alliance meditated by England, Holland, and Sweden against the growing power of France. This, the only grand political manœuvre in the reign of Charles II., reflects the highest honour upon the abilities of Sir William Temple.

Five days after his recall from Brussels, he was sent to the Hague, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General. Upon his arrival, the conferences commenced; and, in five days more, the League was completed. As a distinguished tribute to his celerity, De Witt himself could not help complimenting him on having thus speedily influenced the States to a resolution upon a matter of the highest importance, and involving the greatest expense in which they had ever engaged; adding, ‘That, now it was done, it looked like a miracle.’

On the conclusion of the treaty, a letter despatched by De Witt to the Earl of Arlington, and a second by the States General to the King of Great Britain, from the panegyrics which they contain are entitled to our notice. The former says, “As it was impossible to send a minister of greater capacity, or

hands of the people: ample justice was done to their memory, and the very sound of their names is still animating to every Englishman attached to their glorious cause. But with De Witt fell, also, his cause and his party; and although a name so respected by all who revere virtue and wisdom when employed in their noblest sphere, the political service of the public, must undoubtedly be doubly dear to his countrymen, yet I do not know that even to this day any public honours have been paid by them to his memory.”

more proper for the temper or genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; so, I believe, no other person either will or can more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the States, to answer the good intentions of the King of Great Britain." In the other his Majesty is informed, "As it is a thing without example, that in so few days three such important treaties have been concluded, so we can say that the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity of Sir William Temple are also without example. If your Majesty continues to make use of such ministers, the knot will grow too fast ever to be untied." And yet Temple himself, with no less wit than modesty, gave a different turn to the circumstance, in a letter to M. Gourville; saying, "They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of such importance to Christendom: but I will tell you the secret of it. To draw things out of their centre requires labour, and address to put them in motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a-going."\*

Soon after the ratification of the treaty, he returned to Brussels; and a negotiation being speedily set on foot for a peace between France and Spain, he received orders from his Court to repair to the Congress appointed for that purpose at Aix la Cha-

\* The most ample account of the progress of this memorable negotiation is to be found in a letter from Sir William to the Earl of Arlington, dated from the Hague on the day it was concluded, Jan. 24, 1668; for which the reader is referred to his State Papers, in his 'Works.'

pelle, in quality of his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Mediator. To his address upon that occasion is, principally, to be ascribed the prompt compliance of the Spanish ministers with the conditions proposed; as Sir Leoline Jenkins, his predecessor, had met with nothing but evasions and delays before his arrival.

On his return to Brussels, he found letters from the Secretary of State informing him, that 'he was again appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General, in order to confirm the Triple Alliance, and to solicit the accession of the Emperor and the German princes.' Accordingly, he set out for the Hague in August, and was specially honoured during his stay with the confidence of the Prince of Orange, afterward William III. But the measures of the English court changing in September, 1669, in favour of France, he received orders to hasten to England. Here, he at first met with a cool reception; and was even pressed to return to the Hague, in order to sow the seeds of a quarrel with Holland, with which country he had, not two years before, so satisfactorily concluded a treaty of peace. But excusing himself from having any share in this gross transaction, he retired to his house at Shene near Richmond.

In this interval of his recess from public employments, he drew up his 'Observations on the United Provinces,' and one part of his 'Miscellanies.'

It redounds greatly to the honour of Sir William Temple, that so long as the Duchess of Orleans, by her fatal influence over her brother Charles II., kept him the dupe of France, he refused to accept of any

function at home or abroad; but on a subsequent change in the politics of the court in 1673, his Majesty, weary of the second Dutch war,\* resolved

\* "The first Dutch war," says Mr. Fox, "had been undertaken against all maxims of policy, as well as of justice; but the superior infamy of the second, aggravated by the disappointment of all the hopes entertained by good men from the Triple Alliance, and by the treacherous attempt at piracy with which it commenced, seems to have effaced the impression of it, not only from the minds of men living at the time, but from most of the writers who have treated of this reign. The principle, however, of both was the same, and arbitrary power at home was the object of both. The second Dutch war rendered the King's system and views so apparent to all, who were not determined to shut their eyes against conviction, that it is difficult to conceive how persons, who had any real care or regard either for the liberty or honour of the country, could trust him afterward. And yet even Sir William Temple (he adds) who appears to have been one of the most honest, as well as of the most enlightened, statesmen of his time, could not believe his treachery to be quite so deep as it was in fact; and seems occasionally to have hoped, that he was in earnest in his professed intentions of following the wise and just system that was recommended to him. Great instances of credulity and blindness in wise men are often liable to the suspicion of being pretended, for the purpose of justifying the continuing in situations of power and employment longer than strict honour would allow: but to Temple's sincerity his subsequent conduct gives abundant testimony. When he had reason to think that his services could no longer be useful to his country, he withdrew wholly from public business, and resolutely adhered to the preference of philosophical retirement (which, in his circumstances, was just) in spite of every temptation, which occurred to bring him back to the more active scene. The remainder of his life he seems to have employed in the most noble contemplations, and the most elegant amusements: every enjoyment heightened, no doubt, by reflecting on the honourable part he had acted in public affairs, and without any regret on his own account (whatever he might feel for his country) at having been driven from them." Speaketh not the Historian this of himself?

to send him to Holland to negotiate a peace. Full powers, however, having been transmitted for that purpose to the Marquis de Fresne, the Spanish Ambassador in London, Temple was ordered to treat with him at home, and in three days concluded the whole affair.

As a reward for his success, he was offered the embassy to Spain: but this, to oblige his old and infirm father, he declined; as he did soon afterward the Secretaryship of State, which he could not afford to purchase at the stipulated price of six thousand pounds.

In June 1674, he was again sent Ambassador to the Hague, and was afterward one of the Ambassadors and Mediators in the treaty of Nimeguen. It was during his residence in Holland upon this occasion, that he was the great instrument of securing the religion and the liberty of his country, by arranging a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary, daughter of James Duke of York.

This important affair, concerted by Sir William Temple and the friends of the Protestant Religion, was chiefly by his address brought to maturity in 1677, as it was contrary to the will of her father, and not much to the satisfaction of the King himself. In the latter part of the transaction, indeed, he availed himself of the assistance of the Lord Treasurer Danby (afterward Duke of Leeds) who, from his view of the magnitude of the object, declared in print, ‘that he would not suffer that part of his service to be buried in oblivion:’ yet that Temple was an important agent in this momentous business, is sufficiently proved by a letter (dated November,

1677) which he addressed to his father upon the subject, and which is still extant.\*

\* TO SIR JOHN TEMPLE.

“ SIR,

“ *London, Nov. —, 1677.*

“ Though I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with, than any you have been entertained with a great while: for I remember how often, and how much, you have desired to see the Prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might befall us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity, as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room.

“ The Prince of Orange came to the King at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received, both of King and Duke. I made the acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer; and in such a manner, as though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

“ The Prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife, while they stayed at Newmarket; and told me, ‘ No consideration should move him in that affair, till he had seen the lady.’ The day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke; and though he did it with so good a grace that it was very well received, yet in four or five days’ treaty it proved to be entangled in such difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart told me, ‘ He was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days and trust God Almighty with what would follow: and so went to bed, the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my life. Yet, before eleven o’clock the next morning, the King sent me to him, to let him know ‘ he was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince’s own way.’

“ Thus far what had passed went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, the Lord Treasurer, and me: but that afternoon it was declared at the Foreign Committee, and next day at Council; you will easily imagine, with what general joy.



After having performed such important services to the crown and kingdom, Sir William in 1679 was

I cannot but tell you, that no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my Lord Arlington, having had no part in it, which he could not but take notice of to the Prince; who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, ‘That some things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.’ I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me, which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the Prince’s confidence and opinion since his last journey into Holland. Besides, for my own part, I found these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince nor with the Treasurer: but endeavoured by Sir Gabriel Sylvius to break the first, by steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last, whenever I went to him, though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into Holland, and though I had ever since told them both, ‘I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another;’ and my Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable, as to be contented with it.

“Since the marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the King will offer to France; and such as, they both conclude, will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that court: how deeply they resent the Prince’s match without their communication, or the least word to their Ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the King will absolutely have it: and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being,

“Sir, yours, &c.

“W. T.”

again solicited to accept the Secretaryship of State: but he a second time declined it, on account of the uncertain situation of affairs; at the same time advising his Majesty to form a new Council,\* of which he was appointed one. Soon afterward, however, upon the King's declaring his intention to prorogue the parliament to an unusual length of time, without suffering his Council to debate the measure, he used such freedom of speech in opposing the measure, that his name was struck out.

This gave him a fair opportunity to send his Majesty word, that 'he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but never meddle again with public affairs:' a resolution which he inviolably maintained, spending the remainder of his days first at Shene, and upon his son's marriage, at Moor Park † near Farnham in

\* In an early period of the King's difficulties (remarks Mr. Fox) Sir William Temple, whose life and character is a refutation of the vulgar notion, that 'philosophy and practical good sense in business are incompatible attainments,' recommended to him a plan of governing by a Council, which was to consist in great part of the most popular noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Such persons being the natural, as well as the safest, mediators between princes and discontented subjects, this seems to have been the best possible expedient. Hume says, 'it was found too feeble a remedy:' but he does not take notice, that it was never in fact tried; inasmuch as not only the King's confidence was withheld from the most considerable members of the Council, but even the most important determinations were taken without consulting the Council itself. Nor can there be a doubt but the King's views, in adopting Temple's advice, were totally different from those of the adviser; whose only error in this transaction seems to have consisted in recommending a plan, wherein confidence and fair dealing were of necessity to be principal ingredients, to a Prince whom he well knew to be incapable of either."

† His kindness to Swift at this place, with the assistance

Surrey; neither involved in the troubles of the short and ignominious reign of James II., nor apprised of the Prince of Orange's intended expedition to England in 1688; and refusing the earnest solicitations by which that Prince sought to engage him in his service as Secretary of State, though he was frequently consulted by him in his most secret and important transactions.

But though he himself thus declined public employment, he consented that his son should accept the office of Secretary at War. This station he had not filled more than a week, before he took a boat, as if designing to go to Greenwich; and leaving behind him a shilling and a note unperceived, flung himself near London Bridge into the Thames. The note contained these words: "My folly, in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the King and kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness, and abler servants than

"JOHN TEMPLE."\*

which he gave him in his studies, &c. will be more correctly referred to in the Life of that writer, in a subsequent volume.

\* It was conjectured, that he alluded to his incapacity for the office of Secretary at War, because he had solicited leave to resign the day before: but the more probable cause of his fatal end was, his having strongly recommended to his royal master his friend Captain Hamilton (a prisoner in the Tower, on suspicion of treason) to be sent to Ireland to induce Tyrconnel, then in arms for King James, to submit. Upon his arrival in that kingdom, this faithless friend had immediately joined the rebels, and at the head of a regiment attacked King William's troops before Inniskillen, commanded by General Macartay. The taunts of rival courtiers, upon the subject, threw Mr. Temple into a profound melancholy; and, though the King himself was fully convinced of his innocence, he never got the better of it.

The unfortunate Mr. Temple had married Mademoiselle Du

The effect of this fatal blow it required all Sir William's magnanimity to surmount: he felt it indeed the more sensibly, as he had occasionally contended (for the sake of argument) in conversation, 'That a wise man might dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleased.'

He died, January, 1698. According to the directions in his will, his heart was deposited in a silver box, and buried under the sun-dial in his garden, opposite to the window from which he used to contemplate the glorious works of nature in company with his beloved sister Lady Giffard; a lady, who as she had shared the fatigues of his travels during his public negotiations, proved also the principal comfort of his retirement and his old age.

His character is briefly given by Dr. Birch, in his 'Lives of Illustrious Persons,' in the following words:

"He had an extraordinary vivacity, with so agreeable a vein of wit and fancy in his conversation, that nobody was welcomer in all sorts of company; but his humour was greatly affected by the spleen in sudden changes of weather, and especially from the crosses and disappointments, which he so often met with in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country.

"He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none who had failed once ought ever to be trusted again; of great humanity and good nature; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason.

Plessis Rambouillet, a French lady, by whom he left two daughters. To these young ladies Sir William bequeathed the greatest part of his estate, with the express condition that 'they should not marry Frenchmen.'

“ He never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was devoted to his liberty, and therefore averse from the servitude of courts. He had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, an indulgent father, a good master, an excellent friend, and, knowing himself to be so, impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved.

“ He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some whom he disliked, and impatient of their conversation: apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one, and avoid the other; being used to say, ‘ That they might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends.’

“ He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language and natural innocent talk he was fond of, and made entertainment of every thing that could afford it.

“ He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much increase it during his employments.

“ His religion was that of the Church of England, in which he was born and educated; and how loose soever Bishop Burnet, who was not acquainted with him, in the ‘ History of his own Times ’ represents his principles to have been, yet there is no ground for such a reflexion given in his writings; among which, his excellent Letter to the Countess of Essex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence.

“ He was rather tall in stature: his shape, when young, very exact: his hair dark-brown, and curled naturally; and, while that was esteemed a beauty, nobody had it in greater perfection: his eyes gray,

but lively ; and his body lean, but extremely active, so that none acquitted themselves better at all exercises."

Few authors, says Granger, have been more read, or more justly admired, than Sir William Temple. He displays his knowledge of books and men in an elegant, easy, and negligent stile, much like the language of genteel conversation. His vanity often prompts him to speak of himself: but he and Montaigne are never more pleasing, than when they dwell on that difficult subject. His readers are great gainers by this foible. He is sometimes, also, inaccurate; but we forgive a little incorrectness of drawing in the paintings of a Correggio, when there is so much beauty and grace to atone for it.

It remains only to mention his literary labours. These consist of 'Memoirs,' 'Letters,' 'Observations on the United Provinces,' and 'Miscellanies.' They are in general either political or historical, and should be read by all who aspire to public employments, but more particularly by such as are appointed to foreign embassies. A few of the 'Miscellanies,' however, are upon subjects of morality, philosophy, and criticism, for which he deserves the grateful remembrance of his countrymen; "having," as Hume observes, "kept himself in his writings altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness, which overwhelmed the nation in his time."

His works have all passed through several editions.

## EXTRACTS.

*Upon the Gardens of Epicurus.*

—‘ If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was a state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came in, after the Fall, with guilt and with labour.

‘ Where Paradise was, has been much debated and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it as what was much in use and delight among the Kings of those eastern countries. Strabo describing Jericho says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus; ibi est regia, et balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another place to be *prope Libanum et Paradisum.* And Alexander is written to have seen Cyrus’ tomb in a Paradise, being a tower not very great and covered with a shade of trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large space of ground adorned and beautified with all sort of trees, both of fruits and of forest, either found there before it was enclosed or planted afterward; either cultivated like gardens for shades and for walks with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate and pleasant to the eye, the smell, or the taste; or else employed like our parks for enclosure and har-

bour of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking : and so they were of more or less extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the several humours of the princes that ordered and enclosed them.

‘ Semiramis is the first we are told of in story that brought them in use through her empire, and was so fond of them as to make one wherever she built, and in all or most of the provinces she subdued, which are said to have been from Babylon as far as India. The Assyrian kings continued this custom and care, or rather this pleasure, till one of them brought in the use of smaller gardens : for having married a wife he was fond of out of one of the provinces where such Paradises and gardens were much in use, and the country-lady not well bearing the air or enclosure of the palace of Babylon to which the Assyrian Kings used to confine themselves, he made her Gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terraces raised with earth over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the highest tower ; planted them with all sorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers the most pleasant of that country ; and thereby made at least the most airy gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the world. This lady may probably have been a native of the provinces of Chasimir or of Damascus, which have in all times been the happiest region for fruits of all the east by the excellence of soil, the position of mountains, and the frequency of streams, rather than the advantage of climate. And it is a great pity we do not yet see the ‘ History of Chasimir,’ which Monsieur Bernier assured me he had translated out of Persian, and intended to pub-



lish; and of which he has given such a taste in his excellent 'Memoirs of the Mogul's Country.'

'The next Gardens we read are those of Solomon, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fountains: and though we have no more particular description of them, yet we may find they were the places where he passed the time of his leisure and delight; where the houses as well as grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the retreats and entertainments of those among his wives that he loved the best; and it is not improbable, that the Paradises mentioned by Strabo were planted by this great and wisest King. But the idea of the garden must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his care and of his study, as well as of his leisure and thought, in the entertainments, since he writ of all plants from the cedar to the shrub.

'What the Gardens of the Hesperides were, we have little or no account farther than the mention of them, and thereby the testimony of their having been in use and request in such remoteness of place and antiquity of time.

'The Garden of Alcinoös, described by Homer, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter; like the rest of the romantic palace in that little barren island of Phæacia, or Corfu. Yet as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge as well as fancy, so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight to all that read him. The seat of this garden joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the enclosure being four acres, the tall trees of shade as well

as those of fruit, the two fountains, one for the use of the garden and the other of the palace, the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year, are (for aught I know) the best rules or provisions that can go toward composing the best gardens; nor is it unlikely that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in Ionia, the country and usual abode of this divine poet, and indeed the region of the most refined pleasure and luxury as well as invention and wit: for the humour and custom of gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower Asia from Damascus, Assyria, and other parts of the eastern empires, though they seem to have made late entrance and smaller improvements in those of Greece and Rome; at least, in no proportion to their other inventions, or refinements of pleasure and luxury.'

## JOHN DRYDEN.\*

[1631—1701.]

**T**HIS illustrious poet, the son of Erasmus Driden (so the name was occasionally spelt) of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, third son of Sir Erasmus Dryden of Canons Ashby, Bart., was born at Aldwinckle All Saints near Oundle, August 9, 1631. He received his education at Westminster School, † under Dr. Busby; and was thence elected May 11, 1650, to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he incurred a slight punishment, in 1652, for disobedience and contumacy.

He does not appear to have displayed any extraordinary indications of genius in his earlier days. He was thirty years of age, before he produced his first play, the ‘Duke of Guise;’ ‡ and his next, ‘The Wild Gallant,’ though patronised by Barbara Villiers

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*; Lord Lansdowne’s Works; Congreve’s Dedication of Dryden’s Works, and *Biographia Britannica*.

† During his stay at school, he translated the third Satire of Persius for a Thursday night’s exercise; and, the year before he left it, he wrote an inharmonious poem upon the Death of Lord Hastings.

‡ This tragedy, much altered with the assistance of Lee, was again brought forward in 1683, to the great offence of the Whigs, and the exciting of some bitter attacks upon its author.

(subsequently Duchess of Cleveland) who procured it the favour of the court, met with so indifferent a reception from the public, that he had resolved to relinquish this species of composition: but his strong passion for it, happily, got the better of his resentment.

In 1654, he took his degree of B. A.,\* and by his father's death inherited a small estate in his native county, liable however to some deductions for the support of the widow and the younger children.

That he had at this time no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, is abundantly evident from his *Heroic Stanzas* on Cromwell, written upon his funeral in 1658;† and his publishing, within two

\* The subsequent degree of M. A. he did not take till 1668; and then, by a dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of a letter from Charles II.

† To this compliment, which (as compared with the verses of Sprat and Waller on the same occasion) excited high hopes, he was led by his connexion with Sir Gilbert Pickering, one of Cromwell's Privy Council and House of Lords, to whom he with no apparent violence to his opinions became Clerk or Secretary. In the history, indeed, of the changes of the human mind few facts will appear more extraordinary, than that Milton should have been descended from a catholic and loyalist family, and Dryden from a sectarian and republican one. The verses of the latter however upon the Protector, praising him chiefly for 'having put an end to civil fury,' easily slid into an encomium on legal monarchy. But they contain one couplet, which if interpreted (in it's most natural acceptation) of the execution of Charles I. and not of the general severity of Cromwell's military discipline, admits a less ready apology:

‘ He sought to end our fighting, and essay'd  
To staunch the blood by breathing of the vein.’

In his ‘*Astræa Redux*,’ a remarkable distich, we are told, justly exposed him to ridicule:

‘ A horrid stillness first invades the ear,  
And in that silence we the tempest fear.’

years afterward, his '*Astræa Redux*, a Poem on the happy Restoration of Charles II.,' and, in the same year, 'A Panegyric to the King on his Coronation.' Other loyal verses, likewise, appeared in the Academical Collections of these times.\*

In 1662, he addressed the Chancellor Hyde, upon New Year's Day; and published, also, a satire on the Dutch.

In 1663, in consequence probably of his verses in praise of modern improvements in philosophy, prefixed to Dr. Charleton's treatise on Stonehenge, he was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society; an honour solicited, or possessed, by few poets except Denham and himself. His next piece, published in 1667, was, his '*Annus Mirabilis*, or The Year of Wonders, 1666;' an historical poem, celebrating the Duke of York's victory over the States General. It is written in quatrains, or heroic standards of four lines; a measure which he borrowed from Davenant's *Gondibert*, and which in his prefatory Letter to Sir Robert Howard he says, "I have ever judged more noble, and of greater dignity than any other verse in use amongst us." In the following year he succeeded Sir William Davenant as Poet Laureat,† and

\* From his signature in the '*Epithalamia Cantabrigiensiâ*' it appears, that (contrary to Johnson's assertion) he *had* obtained a fellowship.

† This office, though it in some measure enlisted the occupier into the service of royalty, did not then impose the necessity of composing annually two copies of verses. An afflictive dispensation has, recently, caused an intermission of these contributions; and like the *Luctus et Gratulationes* of Academical Bodies, which used to accompany every royal death, birth, marriage, &c. they might perhaps, with no disadvantage either to poetry or to royalty, be wholly laid aside. Dryden's stipends, it is said, were not in that needy reign paid with great regularity.

was also made Historiographer to his Majesty with a stipend for the two offices of 200*l. per ann.*, upon which he published his 'Essay on Dramatic Poesy,'\* addressed to Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

'The writing of this essay,' he tells his patron, 'served as an amusement to him in the country, when he was driven from town by the violence of the plague, which then raged in London; and he diverted himself with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their absent mistresses.' He there justifies the method of composing plays in verse, but confesses that he had quitted the practice, because he found it troublesome and slow.

As to tragedy, he seldom (the critics have remarked) touches the passions, but deals rather in pompous language and poetical descriptions; causing his characters too frequently to speak better than they ought to do, when their sphere in the drama is considered. "It is peculiar to him," says Addison, "to make his personages as wise, witty, elegant, and polite as himself." That he could not deeply affect the passions, is certain; for we find no play of his, in which we are much disposed to weep. We are so much enchanted indeed with beautiful digressions and elevated flights of fancy, that we forget the business of the piece, and suffer the characters to sleep. Gildon in his 'Laws of Poetry' observes, that, when it was recommended to Dryden to turn his thoughts to a translation of Euripides, rather than of Homer,† he

\* The drift of this discourse was, to vindicate the honour of the English writers from the censure of those, who unjustly preferred to them the French.

† Toward the conclusion of his life, he actually translated the first book of the Iliad.

confessed ' he had no relish for that poet, who was a great master of tragic simplicity.' As a farther confirmation, likewise, that his taste for tragedy was not of the genuine sort, the same writer adds that ' he constantly expressed great contempt for Otway, who is universally allowed to have eminently succeeded in affecting the tender passions.

And that he was not born to write comedy, he seems himself to have been abundantly sensible: " I want (he observes) that gayety of humour, which is required in it: my conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, and make repartees; so that those who decry my comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the last thing, to which I shall pretend." This ingenuous confession of inability, one would imagine, might have been sufficient to silence the clamor of the critics; but, however true it be that he did not appear to advantage in comedy, it may yet be contended that in tragedy, with all his faults, he is still the most illustrious of his time. The end of tragedy is, to instruct the mind, as well as to move the passions. Now where there are no refined sentiments, the mind indeed may be affected, but not improved; and, however powerfully the passion of grief sways the heart, a man may feel distress in the acutest manner, and not be much the wiser for it.

Dryden too, perhaps, would have written better in both species of the drama, had not the necessity of his circumstances obliged him to comply with the popular taste.\* This he himself insinuates, in his

\* Although his first plays were so little successful, he went

**Dedication of the Spanish Friar.** “I remember some verses of my own ‘Maximin and Almanzor,’ which cry

on, and in the space of twenty five years produced twenty seven dramas, beside his other numerous poetical writings. Of the stage, says Dr. Johnson, when he had once invaded it, he kept possession; not indeed without the competition of rivals, who sometimes prevailed, or the censure of critics, which was often poignant and often just; but with such a degree of reputation, as made him at least secure of being heard, whatever might be the final determination of the public. These plays were collected and published, in six volumes duodecimo, in 1725.

He appears, indeed, about 1667 to have become professionally a writer for the stage; having contracted with the patentees of the King’s Theatre to furnish them annually with three plays (though he never, even during the greatest vigour of his exertions, fully completed two) on condition of receiving the profit of one share and a quarter out of the twelve and three quarters, into which the theatrical stock was at that time divided; i. e.  $\frac{1}{5}$ , or nearly one tenth. This, which is said to have produced him about 400*l.* *per ann.*, constituted probably the principal part of his income. Whether he derived any farther advantages from the contingent recompences of dedications, or the sale of copyrights, is unknown. But, if his claims in the former respect were to be measured by the abject meanness of his flattery, he ought to have profited largely:

‘Indignant view

Yet pity Dryden—Hark! whene’er he sings,  
How adulation drops her courtly dew  
On titled rhymers and inglorious kings.’ (Mason.)

He was, indeed, a striking example of genius able to reduce it’s labours to a mechanical exactness at the call of party, poverty, or panegyric. Yet his real sentiments of men and things appear to have been free, and it would be easy to deduce from his works many strong expressions of scorn and indignation relative to every species of tyranny exercised over mankind; strangely contrasted, it must at the same time be owned, by the doctrines of passive submission, civil and religious, which it was his task to support.



vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All that I can say for those passages, which are I hope not many, is that 'I knew they were bad when I wrote them.' But I repent of them among my sins; and if, any of their fellows intrude by chance into my present writings, I draw a veil over all these Dalilahs of the theatre, and am resolved I will settle myself no reputation upon the applause of fools. 'Tis not, that I am mortified to all ambition; but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles. Neither do I discommend the lofty stile in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent; but nothing is truly sublime, that is not just and proper."

In 1672, he was publicly ridiculed upon the stage, in 'The Rehearsal,' a comedy written by the Duke of Buckingham, with the assistance of Sprat (at that time his chaplain) Butler, and Martin Clifford, Esq. of the Charter House, under the character of Mr. Bayes. This character, at first called 'Bilboa' (we are informed in the 'Key to the Rehearsal') was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard:\* but the representation being interrupted by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was not re-exhibited till 1671; in which interval Dryden having been advanced to the laurel,† the noble author changed the

\* Who, in the preface to his 'Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma,' had animadverted upon Dryden's 'Essay on Dramatic Poesy.'

† In order to appropriate the ridicule, Dryden's actual dress is said to have been borrowed by some finesse, and his very phraseology and manner of recitation to have been exactly mimicked. But, although the town enjoyed the laugh raised against him, it does not appear that his solid reputation as a poet was injured by the attack. In fact, more of the parodied passages

name of his hero, and made other alterations in his play, in order to ridicule several dramatic performances which had appeared subsequently to its first performance. Those of Dryden, which fell under his lash, were, 'The Wild Gallant,' 'Tyrannic Love,' 'The Conquest of Granada,' 'Marriage a-la-Mode,' and 'Love in a Nunnery.' Whatever was extravagantly or unnaturally expressed, the author has ridiculed by parody.\*

In 1673, his tragi-comedies, entitled the 'Conquest of Granada' in two parts, encountered the attack of Leigh a player (in a pamphlet, called 'The Censure of the Rota') and of Elkanah Settle, who though a very indifferent poet, for many years bore his reputation above that of Dryden. From Dryden's reply to his latter adversary, a tract never republished and now therefore rare, Dr. Johnson has given large extracts: observing, in conclusion, "such was the criticism, to which the genius of Dryden could be reduced between rage and terror; rage with little provocation, and terror with little danger. To see the highest minds thus levelled with the meanest, may produce some solace to the consciousness of weakness, and some mortification to the pride of wisdom. But let it be remembered, that minds are not levelled in their powers, but when they are first levelled in their desires. Dryden and Settle had both placed their happiness in the claps of multitudes." †

and instances of absurdity are drawn from other writers, than from Dryden.

\* That Dryden affected to despise this satire, appears from his Dedication of the translation of Juvenal and Persius.

† The tragedy of the latter, entitled the 'Emperor of Morocco,' which was written in rhyme and for a while much ap-

In 1679 an 'Essay on Satire,' said to be written jointly by Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave, made its appearance. This piece, which was handed about in manuscript, contained reflexions on the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Earl of Rochester; and they, suspecting Mr. Dryden to be the sole author, hired three ruffians to cudgel him.\*

But the resentment of Rochester was carried to still greater lengths: in order to injure his character and interest, he recommended one Crown to write a Masque for the court, which it was the province of Dryden as Poet Laureat to perform. The composition was successful: soon afterward, however, when Crown's play ('The Conquest of Jerusalem') met with extraordinary applause, Rochester became jealous of his new favourite, and from that moment his enemy.

Dryden had farther to encounter the cool malignant eye of Langbaine,† who read poetry only to

plauded, is said to have been the first drama embellished with sculptures. Even this circumstance seems to have given poor Dryden great disturbance.

\* This they effected, if we may trust Wood, as he was returning from Will's Coffee House through Rose Street, Covent Garden, to his own house in Gerrard Street, Soho, in the evening of December 16, 1679. The incident is thus recorded by Mulgrave, the real offender, in his 'Art of Poetry':-

'Though praised and beaten for another's rhymes,  
His own deserves as great applause sometimes.'

† This writer ascribes the malignity, which Dryden often expressed against the clergy, to his having been repulsed from ordination. But he himself has denied, that 'he ever designed to enter into the church;' and "such a denial," observes Johnson, "he would not have hazarded, if he could have been convicted of falsehood. Malevolence to the clergy (adds the Biographer of the Poets) is seldom at a great distance from irre-

detect plagiarism. It was also alleged against him, that 'from jealousy of Creech's popular version of Lucretius he advised that author to attempt Horace,' in which he knew he would fail; and that, from a similar feeling with respect to Congreve's *Old Bachelor*, his "treacherous friendship deluded the dramatist into a foolish imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces."\*

In 1680, came out a version of Ovid's *Epistles* in English verse, by several hands; two of them, *Canace to Macareus* and *Dido to Æneas*, by Dryden,† who also wrote the preface. In the year following, he published '*Absalom and Achitophel*;' in which, under

verence of religion, and Dryden affords no exception to this observation. His writings exhibit many passages, which with all the allowance that can be made for character and occasions, are such as piety would not have admitted, and such as may vitiate light and unprincipled minds. But there is no reason for supposing, that he disbelieved the religion which he disobeyed. He forgot his duty, rather than disowned it. His tendency to profaneness is the effect of levity, negligence, and loose conversation, with a desire of accommodating himself to the corruption of the times, by venturing to be wicked as far as he durst. When he professed himself a convert to Popery, he did not pretend to have received any new conviction of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity."

Brown also, in his '*Late Converts Exposed*,' or the second part of the '*Reasons for Mr. Bayes' changing his Religion*,' says, "But, prythee, why so severe always upon the priesthood, Mr. Bayes? You, I find, still continue your old humour, which we are to date from the year of Hegira, the loss of Eton (of which, it was said, he had in vain solicited the provostship) or since orders were refused you."

\* The success, it was added, of Southerne's *Fatal Marriage* would "vex puffing Dryden and Congreve to madness."

† He also, jointly with the Earl of Mulgrave, translated the *Epistle of Helen to Paris*. The public have lately seen them happily translated, and ably prefaced, by Mr. Fitzthomas.

the character of Zimri,\* he took a full revenge on the noble author of the *Rehearsal*.

In the same year, likewise, his 'Medal, a Satire,'† was given to the public. This rancorous composition, written (it is said) at the express desire of the King, and rewarded by him with a hundred broad pieces, was occasioned by the striking of a Medal on account of the indictment against the Earl of Shaftesbury for High Treason being found *ignoramus* by

\* The characters of Absalom, Achitophel, and David represented Monmouth, Shaftesbury, and Charles II. The poem is a severe satire on the contrivers and abettors of the rebellion against Charles by the Duke of Monmouth. He left the story however unfinished, because he could not prevail upon himself to show Absalom unfortunate: "I have not (he adds) so much as an uncharitable wish against Achitophel; but am content to be accused of a good-natured error, and to hope with Origen that the Devil himself may at last be saved." Two Latin translations of it appeared in 1682: one by Dr. Coward, a physician, of Merton College, Oxford; and the other and far superior version by Atterbury, though his biographer Stackhouse ascribed the first to his pen. A second part of 'Absalom and Achitophel' was written by Tate at the desire of Dryden, who himself supplied nearly two hundred lines, beginning

'Next these a troop of busy spirits press,'

And ending

'To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee.'

† A severe invective against Shaftesbury.—(See his Life.) In the second edition however, in opposition to the royal judgment, he inserted some lines, liberally praising this nobleman for his judicial conduct as Chancellor. Whether the compliment was a voluntary tribute to candor, or a return for some unascertained favour (for Mr. Malone appears to have proved that it's supposed cause, a presentation of a Charter House scholarship to one of his sons, came from the King himself) is unknown. Settle wrote an answer to this poem, entitled 'The Medal Reversed.'

the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey; upon which, the Whigs made great rejoicings in all parts of London.

In 1682, he published his '*Religio Laici*, or a Layman's Faith.' This piece, written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of Father Simon's '*Critical History of the Old Testament*,' was intended as a defence of Revealed Religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and manners, against Deists, Papists, and Presbyterians. He admits, indeed, the difficulty of rightly interpreting the Sacred Volume, and therefore justly assigns great weight to early opinion and tradition; but that he was at this time far from assenting to the exclusive claims of the Romish Church, may be inferred from the following lines:

' In times o'ergrown with rust and ignorance  
A gainful trade their clergy did advance:  
When want of learning kept the laymen low,  
And none but priests were authorised to know;  
When what small knowledge was in them did dwell,  
And he a god who could but write and spell.  
Then Mother Church did mightily prevail:  
She parcell'd out the Bible by retail;  
But still expounded what she sold or gave,  
To keep it in her power to damn or save.  
Scripture was scarce, and to the market went;  
Poor Laymen took salvation on content,  
As needy men take money, good or bad:  
God's word they had not, but the priest's they had.  
Yet, whate'er false conveyances they made,  
The lawyer still was certain to be paid:  
In those dark times they learn'd their knack so well,  
That by long use they grew Infallible.'

When these and his other bitter sarcasms on the Popish clergy in his '*Spanish Friar*,' are considered, as well as the judiciously timed date of his conversion

to Popery, it is hardly possible even for liberality itself to ascribe that measure to any thing but interest. His continued adherence to his new faith will hardly be adduced in proof of the sincerity of his conviction, except by those who suppose him to have been capable of the shamelessness of a second recantation. Soon afterward, he ceased to write professedly for the theatre. Either from age, indolence, or exhaustion he had become dilatory in his contributions, and the patentees proportionally slow in their remunerations. Hence, from distress of circumstances, he addressed a letter to Hyde Earl of Rochester, in which with modest dignity he pleads merit enough 'not to deserve to starve, and requests some small employment in the Customs or Excise, or at least the payment of half a year's pension for his present necessity:' "I have three sons (he adds) growing to man's estate. I breed them all up to learning, beyond my fortune: but they are too hopeful to be neglected, though I want, &c." It is enough for one age (he elsewhere observes), to have neglected Mr. Cowley, and starved Mr. Butler. Such was the condition of this champion for loyalty under Charles II. (upon whom, however, one Aurelian Cook wrote a thick octavo of panegyric, entitled '*Titus Britannicus*') though he was by no means an extravagant, and assuredly an industrious man! He never obtained any of the requested places,\* and was doomed to find the booksellers his best patrons.

\* In this, less fortunate even than the Scottish Burns, whose appointment to an office in the Excise, certainly not the most honourable or appropriate of recompences, excited at the time some bitter irony.

In the October of the same year, likewise, he published his 'Mac Flecnoe,' an exquisite Satire upon Shadwell;

' In prose and numbers own'd, without dispute,  
Through all the realms of nonsense absolute.'

This poem is supposed to have given Mr. Pope the idea of his Dunciad. Whether these two great poets were judicious or not in thus commemorating their dull antagonists, may be questioned; but the reader, who enjoys their wit, will not quarrel with them for it's employment.

In 1684, he gave to the world his 'Translation of M. Maimbourg's History of the League,' in which he was employed by his Sovereign's command, on account of the obvious parallel between the Leaguers of France and the Covenanters of Great Britain. On the death of Charles he wrote his '*Threnodia Augustalis*,' to the happy memory of that Prince. Soon after the commencement of the new reign, he became a Papist, and by this extraordinary step drew upon himself the just ridicule of the wits of the time, particularly of the famous Tom Brown.\* In 1686, he wrote a 'Defence of the Papers written by the late King of blessed Memory, found in his Strong Box,' In this work, he took occasion to vindicate the authority of the Catholic Church in decreeing matters of faith, as 'the Church (he contended) was more visible than the Scriptures, because the Scriptures are seen by

\* In his 'Reasons of Mr. Bayes' changing his Religion considered, &c.' in two parts, 1688, 1690, 4to. He obtained 100*l.* *per ann.* upon his apostasy; to which, however, seems to have been annexed an expectation, that he should employ his pen in the service of his new Creed.



the Church ;' and the Reformation was ' erected on the foundation of lust, sacrilege, and usurpation.' Dr. Stillingfleet, in reply, treated the author with deserved severity. " If I thought (he observes) there was no such thing as true religion in the world, and that the priests of all religions are alike, I might have been as nimble a convert, and as early a defender of the royal papers, as any one of these champions. For why should not one, who believes no religion, declare for any ?"

In 1687, Dryden published his ' Hind and Panther,' a poetical dialogue in direct defence of his new Creed. In this the Hind represents the Catholic Establishment, and the Panther supports the character of the Church of England. These two beasts very learnedly discuss the controverted topics of Transubstantiation, Church-Authority, Infallibility, &c. The whole work affords a striking proof of the power of it's author's verse. Notwithstanding the signal absurdity of it's plan, it was read with avidity, and bore every mark of occupying the public attention ! It's first part consists, chiefly, of general characters and narration ; " which," he remarks, " I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second, being matter of dispute and chiefly concerning Church-Authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is or ought to be more free and familiar than the two former, There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design ; so that they are

properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common-places of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one Church against the other."

This poem was attacked by Montagu (afterward Earl of Halifax) and Prior, in their 'Hind and Panther, transversed to the Country Mouse and the City Mouse;' in the preface to which it is observed, "that Mr. Dryden's poem naturally falls into ridicule; and that in this burlesque nothing is represented monstrous and unnatural, that is not equally so in the original." "They have the comfort," it's writers subsequently remark, "under the severity of his satire, to see his abilities equally lessened with his opinion of them; and that he could not be a fit champion against the Panther, till he had laid aside his judgement."

Dryden is supposed, also, to have engaged in translating M. Varillas' 'History of Heresies,' but to have dropped the design.\*

In 1688, he published '*Britannia Rediviva*;' a poem on the birth of the "Venerable infant," afterward known by the title of 'The Pretender.' From this auspicious event the courtly bard, assuming the poetical privilege, vaticinates a commencing era of prosperity to the nation and the church. It is scarcely possible, indeed, for the devotion of loyalty to be carried farther. Short-sighted prophet! Within a few months after his prediction, the Revolution took place. Upon this great change, he was not only dis-

\* This we learn from a passage in 'Burnet's Reflexions on the ninth Book of the first Volume of M. Varillas' History.'

possessed of his place as Poet Laureat, but had also the additional mortification of seeing it conferred on a man to whom he had a particular dislike.

He was now, in advanced life, compelled to depend upon his own exertions for a security against absolute indigence: and his faculties were equal to the demand. During the last ten years of his life, in which he actually wrote at a certain rate *per* line, he composed some of his noblest productions. In the very year, in which he was stripped of the laurel, he translated the 'Life of St. Francis Xavier' from the French of P. Bouhours. In 1690, appeared 'Don Sebastian,' one of his best tragedies. In 1691, he wrote his 'Cleomenes,' which was acted the year following; and he concluded his dramatic labours in 1693 with a tragi-comedy, of which the unfavourable reception must have convinced him that, seduced by the love of lucre, he had lingered on the stage too long. In the last-named year, also, appeared the 'Translation of Juvenal and Persius;' in which the first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth Satires of the former, with the whole of the latter writer, were 'done' by Mr. Dryden. To this he prefixed an excellent Discourse, as a dedication to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.\*

In 1695, he published a prose version of Du Fresnoy's 'Art of Painting,' effected in two months, †

\* See the Extracts. This nobleman, though officially (as Lord Chamberlain) obliged to withdraw his stipend, had generously continued to him an equivalent out of his own estate.

† Of this poem, written in Latin Hexameters by a French painter who was born in the beginning of the seventeenth century, a version was likewise given in 1754 by an artist named Wills, in 'metre without rhyme,' as the reader with Mason

with a preface (which, as he boasts, "cost him only twelve mornings") containing a parallel between

will pronounce it rather than 'blank verse,' when he has read the lines with which it opens :

' As Painting, Poesy, so similar  
To Poesy be Painting; emulous  
Alike, each to her sister doth refer.  
Alternate change the office and the name;  
Mute Verse is this, that Speaking Picture call'd : ' &c.

It encountered, however, subsequently a better fate; being translated into English verse by Mr. Mason, and published with annotations by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1783.

The Introductory Epistle, from the Translator to the Commentator, opens as follows :

' When Dryden, worn with sickness, bow'd with years,  
Was doom'd (my friend, let Pity warm thy tears)  
The galling pang of penury to feel  
For ill-placed loyalty and courtly zeal;  
To see that laurel, which his brows o'erspread,  
Transplanted droop on Shadwell's barren head:  
The Bard oppress'd, yet not subdued, by fate  
For very bread descended to translate;  
And he, whose farces, copious as his phrase,  
Could light at will expression's brightest blaze,  
On Fresnoy's lay employ'd his studious hour:  
But niggard there of that melodious power,  
His pen, in haste the hireling task to close,  
Transform'd the studied strain to careless prose;  
Which, fondly lending faith to French pretence,  
Mistook it's meaning or obscured it's sense.  
Yet still he pleased; for Dryden still must please,  
Whether with artless elegance and ease  
He glides in prose, or from it's tinkling chime  
By varied pauses purifies his rhyme,  
And mounts on Maro's plumes, and soars his heights sublime. }  
This artless elegance, this native fire  
Provoked his tuneful heir to strike the lyre;  
Who, proud his numbers with that prose to join,  
Wove an illustrious wreath for Friendship's shrine.'

**Painting and Poetry.** In praise of this translation, Pope has addressed a copy of verses to Mr. Jervas.

In 1697, his version of Virgil, begun in 1694, made its appearance.\* The Pastorals are dedicated to Lord Clifford, as ‘the wretched remainder of a sickly age, worn out with study and oppressed with fortune, without other support than the constancy and patience of a Christian.’ He adds, that he ‘began this work in his great climacteric.’ The Life of Virgil, the two prefaces to the Pastorals and Georgics, and all the prose arguments were supplied by friends; the preface to the Georgics, in particular, by Addison. He is supposed to have gained twelve or thirteen hundred pounds by this undertaking; as his friends entered into a subscription, at that time an unusual thing, for its encouragement. His poetical follower and rival, the translator of Homer, availed himself far more advantageously of the precedent. His son, and his bookseller (Tonson), urged him to dedicate the Version to William III.: but such a compliment to one, whom he must have regarded as a heretic and an usurper, would have been too gross a violation of consistency.†

It was after preparing a second edition of his Virgil, that he found himself still obliged to write for daily bread. Scarcely relieved from one heavy task, he was compelled to hasten to another; and his efforts, as it has been observed, were now stimulated

\* He himself asserts, that ‘it would require seven years to translate Virgil exactly.’

† This production was censured by Milbourne, according to Pope ‘the fairest of critics,’ because he printed his own version.

by a domestic feeling, the expected return of his son in ill health from Rome. In a letter to his bookseller, he pathetically remarks, "If it please God that I must die of over-study, I cannot spend my life better than in preserving his." It was upon this occasion that, on the verge of his seventieth year, worn out with study and oppressed with fortune, he contracted to supply Tonson with ten thousand verses at sixpence a line! and to complete the number, threw in his celebrated 'Ode.'\* He was to have an additional 50% on the appearance of a second edition, which did not happen, however, till thirteen years after his death!

The bargain produced, in 1700, his 'Fables, Ancient and Modern, translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer.' To this, perhaps his most imperfect work, is prefixed a critical account of the authors, from whom they were derived.

His other compositions, frequently published in six volumes of 'Miscellanies,' comprehend versions from the Greek and Latin poets; epistles to several persons; prologues and epilogues to several plays; elegies, epitaphs, and songs.

His performances in prose, beside his dedications, prefaces, and controversial writings, consist of the

\* This composition, which though commonly said to have been finished at one sitting, according to Birch employed him a fortnight (and, as Mr. Malone asserts, some weeks) it is impossible to read, without feeling a portion of the enthusiasm experienced during it's composition. Had it's author indeed never written any thing besides, his name would have been immortal. It has been set to music more than once, particularly in 1735 by Handel. It was his second Ode upon the subject; a former one having being composed by him in 1687.

**Life of Plutarch, and of Lucian, prefixed to the translation of those authors\* by several hands; the Life of Polybius, accompanying the version of that historian by Sir Henry Sheers; and the preface to the 'Dialogue concerning Women' by William Walsh, Esq.**

After having been harassed for some years by the gravel and the gout, he died of a neglected inflammation of the foot, May 1, 1701, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. His widow Lady Elizabeth Howard, sister of the Catholic Earl of Berkshire, whom he is supposed to have married about 1665, with less advantage (from accidental circumstances) than might reasonably have been anticipated from such an alliance, survived him thirteen years, during several of which she was a lunatic, having been deprived of her senses by a nervous fever in 1704.

By this lady he had three sons, Charles,† John,

\* The translation of 'Plutarch's Lives' was given, with great superiority, by the Langhorns; yet not without some omissions and incorrectnesses, which have been attempted to be supplied by the Editor of the present work.

† Of Charles a few anecdotes are preserved, particularly one relative to his father's funeral, which however, as disproved in its leading feature by Malone, who demonstrates it to have been chiefly fabricated by Mrs. Thomas, is merely inserted in a note.

The day after Dryden's death, we are told in Wilson's 'Memoirs of Congreve,' the Bishop of Rochester as Dean of Westminster sent word to his widow, that he would make a present of the ground and all other abbey-fees for his interment. Lord Halifax likewise, in a message to Lady Elizabeth and Mr. Charles Dryden, made an offer to defray the other expenses of the funeral, and afterward to bestow 500*l.* upon a monument, which was accepted.

Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corpse was put into a velvet hearse attended by

and Erasmus Henry; all educated at Rome, where the second died of a fever. He had translated the

eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to proceed, Lord Jefferies, the son of the Chancellor, with some of his rakish companions riding by, inquired 'whose funeral it was,' and being told 'it was Mr. Dryden's,' protested 'he should not be buried in that private manner; but that he would himself, with Lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of the interment, and would bestow 1000*l.* on a monument in the Abbey.'

This put a stop to the procession: while Jefferies, with several of the gentlemen who had alighted from their coaches, went up stairs to the lady, then sick in her bed; and on her refusing her consent, fell on his knees, vowing 'never to rise till his request was granted.' Lady Elizabeth, under a sudden surprise, fainted away; upon which the importunate supplicant, pretending to have succeeded, ordered the body to be carried to the house of Mr. Russel an undertaker in Cheapside, and to be left there till farther orders. In the mean time, the Abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, and the Bishop expecting the corpse. The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden excused his mother to him, and to Lord Halifax, by stating the plain matter of fact.

Three days afterward, Mr. Russel having received no orders, waited on Lord Jefferies, who represented it as 'a drunken frolic;' declared that 'he remembered nothing of the matter,' and told him 'he might do what he pleased with the body.' Upon this, the undertaker proceeded to consult Lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's consideration. Her son wrote to Lord Jefferies, who answered, that 'he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it.' He then applied again to Lord Halifax, and the Bishop of Rochester; but they absolutely refused to do any thing farther in the affair. At last Dr. Garth, who had been Dryden's intimate friend, had the corpse conveyed to the College of Physicians, and having successfully proposed a subscription, about three weeks afterward pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed to Westminster Abbey, attended by above a hundred coaches in great disorder. The Abbey, on their arrival, was unlighted. No organ played, no anthem was sung: the corpse was preceded by only two of the boys, who recited an Ode of Horace,



fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, and wrote a comedy entitled, 'The Husband his own Cuckold.'

Charles, it is said, was a youth of an extremely promising genius: he translated the sixth Satire of Juvenal, and was the author of some other pieces both in prose and verse. His father, with all his understanding, believed in judicial astrology,\* and having calculated the nativity of this child, foretold several hazards which he would run of losing his life at different stages of it; expressing his apprehensions, that he would not survive his thirty third or thirty fourth year. The youth, it is said (upon doubtful authority) did actually meet with the narrow

(*Exegi monumentum ære perennius, &c.*) with each a small candle in his hand.

When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent several successive challenges to Lord Jefferies; but he could never gain admittance either for a letter, or for himself. Upon this he resolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight, though with all the rules of honour, which his Lordship hearing quitted the town; and Dryden never afterward had an opportunity of meeting him, though he sought it to his death with the utmost application.

\* Of his notions and practice in this respect, his letter to his sons in Italy (preserved in the Library at Lambeth) leaves no doubt. In it, after saying, "I remember the counsel you give me in your letter: but dissembling, though lawful in some cases, is not my talent. Yet, for your sake, I will struggle with the plain openness of my nature, and keep in my just resentments against that degenerate order. In the mean time, I flatter not myself with any manner of hopes, but do my duty, and suffer for God's sake; being assured, beforehand, never to be rewarded, though the times should alter:"—he proceeds, "Toward the latter end of this month, September, Charles will begin to recover his perfect health, according to his nativity which, casting it myself, I am sure is true; and all things, hitherto, have happened accordingly to the very time that I predicted them, &c."

escapes predicted;\* and after having filled the office of Usher of the Palace to Pope Clement XI., returning to England in the thirty fourth year of his age was drowned in the Thames at Windsor, in a swimming match, in 1704.

Mr. Dryden had no monument reared to his memory for several years: to this Pope alludes, in his epitaph intended for Rowe,

‘ Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies ;’

in a note on which we are informed, that upon this hint his tomb was erected by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, and the following couplet composed for the occasion :

‘ This Sheffield raised. The sacred dust below  
Was Dryden’s once.—The rest who does not know? †

\* It is one of the principal faults of the Novel, entitled ‘ Guy Mannering,’ that a similar coincidence between an astrological prediction, involving two or three dates of hazard, and it’s fulfilment has not been avoided. The circumstance is not essential to the fable, and it may be mischievous in it’s effect upon some feebler minds.

† —“ What do you think (says Bishop Atterbury, in a letter to Pope) of some such short inscription as this in Latin, which may in a few words say all that is to be said of Dryden, and yet nothing more than he deserves?

*Johanni Drydeno,  
Cui Poësis Anglicana  
Vim suam ac veneres debet,  
Et siquâ in posterum augebitur laude,  
Est adhuc debitura ;  
Honoris ergo p., &c.*

To show you that I am as much in earnest in the affair as yourself, something I will send you too of this kind in English. If your design holds, of fixing Dryden’s name only below and his

This was, subsequently, changed into the following plain inscription :

J. DRYDEN.

*Natus Aug. 9, 1631.*

*Mortuus Maii 1, 1701.*

*Johannes Sheffield, Dux Buckinghamiensis, fecit.*

In person, Mr. Dryden was a short, fat, florid man,

bust above, may not lines like these be graved just under the name?

‘ This Sheffield raised, to Dryden’s ashes just,  
Here fix’d his Name, and there his hallow’d Bust.  
What else the Muse in marble might express,  
Is known already : praise would make him less.’

Or thus,

‘ More needs not : where acknowledged merits reign,  
Praise is impertinent, and censure vain.’

This you will take as a proof of my zeal at least, though it be none of my talent for poetry, &c.”

A ‘ *Luctus Britannici*, or the Tears of the British Muses for the Death of John Dryden, Esq., &c., by the most eminent hands in the two famous Universities, and by several others,’ in folio, may claim the same character. In fifty five pages of English, and twenty four of Latin Compositions, there occurs not one distant approach to a ‘ *Lycidas*.’ The only names of any celebrity are those of Mr. Digby Cotes (subsequently Public Orator at Oxford) then “ a young gentleman sixteen years old,” Bevil Higgons, and John Phillips of the Inner Temple. How little equal, collectively, to Gray’s

‘ Behold, where Dryden’s less presumptuous car  
Wide o’er the fields of glory bear  
Two coursers of ethereal race,  
With necks in thunder clothed and long-resounding pace.  
Hark, his hands the lyre explore!  
Bright-eyed Fancy, hovering o’er,  
Scatters from her pictured urn  
Thoughts that breathe and words that burn,  
But ah ! ’tis heard no more ——’

*“ corpore quadrato,”* as Lord Hailes some years ago observed to Mr. Malone, “a description which Æneas Sylvius applied to James I. of Scotland.” The same gentleman remarked, that at one time he wore his hair in large quantity, and that it inclined to grey, even before his misfortunes;\* a circumstance which, he said, he had learned from a portrait of Dryden, painted by Kneller, formerly in the possession of the late Mr. James West.

At Will's Coffee House, where he presided as arbiter in all literary disputes, his armed chair, which in the winter had a prescriptive place by the fire, was during the summer placed in the balcony.

Congreve, who knew Dryden familiarly, in the dedication of his dramatic works to the Duke of Newcastle, has represented him, in regard to his moral character; as in every respect not only blameless but amiable. Humane, compassionate, forgiving, and friendly; gentle in correcting errors, and patient under the correction of his own; easy of access himself, but backward, and diffident, and of all men the most easy to be repelled in his advances to others. From his liberal notices of himself we may infer, that ‘his conversation was slow and dull, and his

\* Perhaps his Lordship here is not quite accurate. By ‘before his misfortunes’ was meant, before the Revolution; but the portrait in question was, probably, of a subsequent date. From other documents, however, it appears that he became grey before he was deprived of the laurel. In Riley's portrait, painted in 1683, he wears a very large wig: so also in that by Closterman, done at a late period. By Tom Brown he is always called ‘Little Bayes;’ and by Rochester, when he quarrelled with and wished to depreciate him, he was nick-named ‘Poet Squab.’ The earliest portrait of Dryden, hitherto discovered, is that in the Picture Gallery, Oxford; but the painter is not known.

humour saturnine and reserved. He has, also, been censured, as boasting of his familiarity with the great; but he has never been accused of being an auxiliary of crime, or charged with any personal compliances unworthy of a respectable character. He abetted vice and vanity only with his pen, of which he lived to repent, and to testify his repentance. As to his prose, adds Congreve, it had all the clearness imaginable, together with all the nobleness of expression; all the graces and ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without deviating into the language or the diction of poetry. I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that 'if he had any talent for English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson.' His versification, and his numbers, he could learn of nobody; for he first possessed those talents in perfection in our tongue. In his poems his diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublimely and truly poetical, that it's essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. What he has done in any one species or distinct kind of writing, would have been sufficient to have acquired him a great name. If he had written nothing but his prefaces, or nothing but his songs or his prologues, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in his kind. It may be proper to observe, that Congreve, in drawing this character, discharged an obligation imposed upon him by it's subject in these lines:

' Be kind to my remains: and, O! defend,  
Against your judgement, your departed friend;  
Let not the insulting foe my fame pursue,  
But shade those laurels which descend to you.'

Dryden was a man of various and extensive, rather than of deep and accurate, acquirements. He could not, as Johnson remarks, like Milton or Cowley have rendered his name illustrious merely by his learning. Anxious to display all that he possessed, he abounds in allusions derived from every branch of scientific and scholastic knowledge at that time in vogue; without any very correct regard to the proprieties either of time, place, or person.\* In translation, he is frequently unfaithful to his author, both in sense and in character, or what may be called *costume*. His dramas are distinguished rather by their wit (and, it must be added, by their immorality) force, and majesty, than by their adherence to nature. Few of

\* Hence in the Guardian, No 110, where he is characterised however as a "poet, whose very faults have more beauty in them than the most elaborate compositions of many more correct writers," he is justly censured for having made his Cleomenes acquainted with the Copernican hypothesis two thousand years before it's invention; and for having introduced in his 'Don Sebastian,' as addressed to an Emperor of Barbary, allusions to the Gorgon, Hydra, Lion's Skin and Distaff of Hercules, and the "prodigy of Thebes," the divided flame of the two deceased brothers: which his Majesty, however, in some degree appears to justify by references equally learned to Cadmus, Semele, Cupid, &c. His brother, likewise, with not less ingenuity speaks familiarly of the 'twins of Leda.' The Mufti indeed, who names Ximenes, Albornoz, and Wolsey, and hears himself without surprise called by Dorax first Phaëton and then Archimedes, it is suggested by Addison in affected excuse for the Poet, was "not only versed in the law of Mahomet, but acquainted with all kinds of polite learning!" The Critic concludes with seriously reprehending the impure raillery of the virtuous Octavia in her dialogue with Cleopatra, the inconsistency of the loose Dolabella in suddenly assuming the sentiments of revealed religion, and the impropriety of thoughts in the speeches of Aurenge-zebe and his Empress. "Dryden is generally," he perhaps too generally himself observes, "wrong in his sentiments."

them, in consequence, survive: his 'Spanish Friar,' 'Don Sebastian,' and 'All for Love,' to which we may perhaps add his 'Conquest of Granada,' are the only ones. As a general poet, he stands unrivalled in point of versification; for, though more correctness in the formation of the rhyme-couplet has since been attained, for fullness and variety of harmony and the free flow of his numbers he has never had an equal. The sense often overflows to a third, often a lengthened, line with fine effect; and triplets and alexandrines, perhaps however somewhat too frequently introduced, diversify the measure of his compositions. The poetical character of his diction is not less striking than the harmony of his verse; and more felicities of expression are found in Dryden's pages, than in those of any other writer. Amidst all his splendor there is, also, a familiarity of language, sometimes sinking to coarseness, but often conducing to wonderful strength. There is scarcely any species of poetry, in which he has not excelled. He delights most, however, in the grand and swelling, which is occasionally urged to bombast.\*

His prose stile, easy, elegant, animated, various, energetic, and so far idiomatic as to afford perhaps the best specimen of genuine English, is chiefly exhibited in the critical essays prefixed to many of his works. These are performances of extraordinary vigour and comprehension of mind, abounding in just thoughts beautifully elucidated, and bearing the

\* A detailed display of his poetical character is given by Dr. Johnson, with a sagacity of discrimination and a felicity of expression, which transcend all praise: and in Dr. Beattie's works the reader will find an able comparison of the versification of Dryden and Pope. See, also, the Life of Pope.

strong stamp of his peculiar genius. Though as written in haste, and consequently without the accuracy which would now be required in similar compositions, they may be deemed effusions rather than regular treatises, they greatly contributed to the advancing and improving of the national taste. He may almost be pronounced, indeed, the Father of English Criticism.

His reputation has lost nothing by age. He is still regarded as one of the heroes of our national poetry, which perhaps does not own more than two or three names of greater celebrity:

Dryden, says the author of the 'Calamities of Authors,' was no master of the pathetic; yet never were compositions more pathetic than the prefaces, which this great man has transmitted to posterity! Opening all the feelings of his heart, he makes us live, as it were, among his domestic sorrows. By Johnson he is censured for saying, "he has few thanks to pay his stars, that he was born among Englishmen."—What, if he felt the dignity of the character which he supported; dare we blame his frankness? If the age be ungenerous, shall contemporaries escape the scourge of the great author, who feels he is addressing another age, which he doubts not will be more just to his deserts? To Johnson's charge of his self-commendation, his 'diligence in reminding the world of his merits, and expressing with very little scruple his high opinion of his own powers,' he shall himself supply the answer: "It is a vanity common to all writers, to over-value their own productions; and it is better for me to own this failing in myself, than the world to do it for me. For what other reason have I spent my life in such



an unprofitable study? Why am I grown old in seeking so barren a reward as fame? The same parts and application, which have made me a poet, might have raised me to any honours of the gown, which are often given to men of as little learning and less honesty than myself."

How feelingly does Whitehead paint the situation of Dryden in his old age!

' Yet lives the man, how wild soe'er his aim,  
Would madly barter Fortune's smiles for fame;  
Well-pleased to shine, through each recording page,  
The hapless Dryden of a shameless age?  
Ill-fated Bard! where'er thy name appears,  
The weeping verse a sad memento bears.  
Ah! what avail'd th' enormous blaze between  
Thy dawn of glory and thy closing scene;  
When sinking nature ask'd our kind repairs,  
Unstrung the nerves, and silver'd o'er the hairs;  
When staid Reflexion came uncall'd at last,  
And grey Experience counts each folly past!'

The following is a list of his numerous dramatic productions:

1. *The Wild Gallant*, a Comedy, revised and printed in 1669.

2. *The Rival Ladies*, a Tragi-Comedy in rhyme, 1664, with a dedication to the Earl of Orrery (himself a writer of rhyming tragedies) in defence of that species of composition.

3. *The Indian Emperor*, or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, a Tragedy in rhyme also, intended as a sequel to the '*Indian Queen*,' in which he had previously assisted Sir Robert Howard,\* 1667.

\* Of this circumstance, notice was given by bills distributed at the door of the theatre; an expedient ridiculed in the '*Re-*

4. Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin Mar-all, a Comedy, 1668 (given, as Donne asserts, to Dryden by the Duke of Newcastle) derived principally from Moliere's '*Etourdi*.'

5. Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen, a Tragi-Comedy; of which the serious part is founded on the History of Cleobuline, Queen of Corinth.

6. The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island, a Comedy, altered and enlarged (chiefly, however, by Sir William Davenant) from Shakspeare's Tempest, 1670. In this, to the original monster Caliban, is added a sister-monster, Sycorax; and to Miranda, who had never seen a man, is introduced a lover, who had never seen a woman.

7. An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer, a Comedy, 1671; taken for the most part from Corneille's *Le Feint Astrologue*, Moliere's *Dépit Amoureux*, and *Les Precieuses Ridicules*. Its elaborate Preface contains many just remarks on the Fathers of the English Drama.

8. Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr, a Tragedy in rhyme, 1672; containing, with many passages of strength and elegance, many also of rant and fustian. This latter characteristic was owing, perhaps, principally to their being rhymed; a circumstance, which operated unfavourably upon the taste both of the author and of his audience.

9, 10. The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, in two Parts, 1672; two Tragi-Comedies,\* of which

hearsal,' where Bayes relates how many reams of paper he has printed, in order to "instil into the audience some conception of the plot." A vehement defence of dramatic rhyme is prefixed, in confutation of Howard's Preface to his '*Duke of Lerma*.'

\* These Plays are written in rhyme. To the first is prefixed

the story is to be found in Mariana's History of Spain, xxv. 18.

11. Marriage A-la-Mode, a Comedy, 1673; dedicated to the Earl of Rochester, whom yet tradition represents as his enemy, and whom he certainly mentions with disrespect in the Preface to his Translation of Juvenal.

12. The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery, a Comedy; which according to Langbaine was damned, and as the author himself expresses it, 'succeeded ill in the representation,' 1673.

13. Amboyna, a Tragedy; founded chiefly upon the cruelty of the Dutch toward our countrymen at Amboyna, A. D 1618; 1673.

14. The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man, an Opera,\* 1674; dedicated to the Duchess of York, to whom the author pays the following extravagant compliment: "Your person is so admirable, that it can scarcely receive any addition when it shall be glorified; and your soul, which shines through it, finds it of a substance so near her own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within it, and to be confined to such a palace."

15. The Mistaken Husband, a Comedy of low humour, on the model of Plautus' *Menæchmi*: not written, however, by Dryden (as Mr. Langbaine informs us) but only adopted as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity of a scene he bestowed upon it, 1675.

an 'Essay on Heroic Plays;' and to the second, an 'Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age.'

\* To this piece, of which the subject is taken from Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' is prefixed an 'Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence.'

16. *Aurenge-zebe, or the Great Mogul*, a Tragedy in heroic verse, 1676. The story is related at large in Tavernier's *Voyages to the Indies*, I. 2.

17. *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*, a Tragedy, 1678, founded upon Shakspeare's 'Antony and Cleopatra,' and dedicated to the Earl of Danby; the only Play which, as he himself asserts, he wrote for himself: the rest were given to the people. In point of regularity and harmony, it may justly be considered as one of the noblest specimens of English poetry. The scene between Antony and Ventidius, in the first act, was his particular favourite; and he could not but admire his own Cleopatra on the water:

‘ Her galley down the silver Cydnus row’d,  
The tackling silk, the streamers waved with gold.  
The gentle winds were lodged in purple sails;  
Her nymphs like Nereids round her couch were placed,  
Where she, another sea-born Venus, lay.—  
She lay, and leant her cheek upon her hand,  
And cast a look so languishingly sweet,  
As if secure of all beholders’ hearts,  
Neglecting she could take ’em. Boys, like Cupids,  
Stood fanning with their painted wings the winds,  
That play’d about her face: but, if she smiled,  
A darting glory seem’d to blaze abroad,  
That men’s desiring eyes were never wearied,  
But hung upon the object! To soft flutes  
The silver oars kept time, and while they play’d,  
The hearing gave new pleasure to the sight,  
And both to thought. ’Twas heaven, or somewhat more;  
For she so charm’d all hearts, that gazing crowds  
Stood panting on the shore, and wanted breath  
To give their welcome voice.’ (Act III.)

18. *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found out too late*, a Tragedy altered from Shakspeare,\* and pub-

\* The plot was originally taken, by Chaucer, from the Latin verse of one Lollius, a Lombard.

lished, with a Preface concerning the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy, in 1679. To this, as Langbaine observes, he added several new scenes, and even improved what he borrowed from the original. The last scene in the third act is a master-piece.

19. *The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham*, 1680; a Comedy so bitter upon the keepers about town (says Langbaine, who seldom favours the author) that "all the old lechers were up in arms against it, and, though his best comedy, damned it the third night." The ostensible objection was, it's indecency.

20. *The Spanish Friar,\* or the Double Discovery*, a Tragi-Comedy written against the Papists, 1681; eminent for the happy coalition of it's two plots, and for the real power both of it's serious and it's risible parts, and highly finished as well in language as in character. It still keeps possession of the stage.

21. *The Duke of Guise*, a Tragedy, 1683; professedly composed in behalf of the Duke of York, whose succession was then opposed.

22. *Albion and Albanus*, an allegorical Opera; intended to expose the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Whig party, 1685. Happening to be first performed on the day upon which the Duke of Monmouth landed in the west, from the public consternation it ran but six nights.

23. *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal*, a Tragedy, 1690; generally esteemed the first, or the second, of his dramatic performances: not because it has

\* The author was afterward, it is said, so much concerned for having ridiculed the character of the Friar, that it impaired his health.

individual passages of finer writing, or even because it's story is of a more probable and interesting description, but because it contains one or two whole scenes of unadulterated nature. "Dryden's talent," says an admirable critic upon theatrical subjects,\* "was certainly not dramatic; and as he happened to light on an age, whose taste was vicious and affected, the want of true powers for the stage suffered him to fall in with the errors of the time: so that most of his tragedies, with their overwrought language and heroism, are little better than so much gigantic boy's play. 'Don Sebastian,' however, was written after the Revolution, when the necessity to please a vicious taste had gone by, and the author was attentive to use his stage-knowledge in aid of his better judgement. He, accordingly, seems to have resolved upon pleasing both himself and his audience in the best possible manner, and to have gone about his task with all the ardor

\* Hunt's 'Theatrical Examiner,' No. 125. Happily too does the same critic characterise, in the same paper, the strength and beauty of Dryden's lyrical compositions: "They have not the fancy of Shakspeare or Beaumont and Fletcher, nor the complacent courtliness of Waller, nor the idiomatic ease and familiarity of Prior; but a stateliness and harmony, a certain princely condescension of power, peculiar to themselves, and quite provocative of the musician's march and accompaniment. His two divine Odes on St. Cecilia's Day need not be instanced; but such, among a variety of small pieces, are his 'Come if you dare,' his 'Fair Stranger,' the dance and music itself of

" High state and honours to others impart,  
But give me your heart :  
That treasure, that treasure alone,  
I beg for my own," &c.

and, above all, the magnificent and appalling song upon Jealousy, with it's impassioned burthen."

of a renovated youth, which retained nothing of age but it's experience. The ground-work of his story, that of a King, who had vanished from his defeated army and was never seen afterward, is at once romantic and historical; the most original and extreme of the characters, Dorax, is at the same time the truest to nature: and if, as he tells us in the Dedication, he hazarded some novelties of language founded upon classical and foreign idioms, the result proves that he hazarded well; for they are no longer discernible by the general eye, but have grown into and become part of the noble structure of our habitual English. Upon the whole, though the bad habits of former days occasionally interfered in the composition, 'Don Sebastian' is a noble play, and may stand first in the list of those which have not absolutely been struck out of the pure heat of nature, like Shakspeare's and some of the old dramatists'. It is the triumph of nature over a powerful intellect, which eventually supplied by it's own experience and judgement what it had not received from genius and taste. As to the comic part, it is like most of Dryden's comedies, despicable enough. There is no author, for whom one feels so much humiliated in this respect—not even Massinger: for Massinger was a less gifted writer, and is of comparatively obscure reputation; while Dryden fills a prominent and majestic part in the train of our native poets, and when you come upon him in these moments of ribaldry and buffoonery, the contrast gives you unmingled mortification."

24. King Arthur, or the British Worthy, an Opera, 1691. This congeries of extravagant incidents has recently been revived, with alterations, as a musical drama.

25. *Amphitryon, or the Two Sosias*, a Comedy, taken from Plautus and Moliere, 1691; which succeeded well on it's first appearance, and was revived by Dr. Hawkesworth in 1756.

26. *Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero*, a Tragedy, preceded by Creech's 'Life of Cleomenes,' from Plutarch. This play was, at first, prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain; but upon farther examination being found innocent of any design to satirise the government, it was licensed, and had a great run. In the Preface the author observes, as 'a foolish objection of the sparks,' that Cleomenes did not accept Cassandra's favours: "They would not have refused a fair lady. I grant, they would not; but let them grant me, that they are no heroes:" and, lastly,

27. *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail*, a Tragi-Comedy, 1693, which like his first met but with indifferent success; though in many parts the genius of it's author breaks out, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's successful love, and in it's very affecting catastrophe.\*

Of recent editions of Dryden, may be named that of his Prose Works by Malone, in 4 vols. 8vo., 1800; of his Poetical Works, with Warton's Notes, by Todd, in 4 vols. 8vo., 1812; and of his whole Works, in 18 vols. 8vo., 1808, by Walter Scott.

From the exquisite Dedication of his translation of Juvenal to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex (liable,

\* In this list, the 'Indian Queen,' written in conjunction with Howard, and the 'Œdipus' (a Tragedy, founded on Sophocles and Seneca, and pronounced by Langbaine 'one of the best tragedies extant') of which he furnished Lee with the first and third acts, are not included.



however, to some deductions on account of his limited acquaintance with works of literature, his confident reliance on his own powers, and his profane adulation of his patron\*) a portion is extracted, of great elegance and interest. After having called Jonson's Verses to the Memory of Shakspeare "an insolent, sparing, and invidious panegyric," and made what he himself pronounces 'a tedious digression from satire to heroic poetry,' he proceeds :

‘ But if you will not excuse it by the tattling quality of age, which, as Sir William Davenant says, is always narrative, yet I hope the usefulness of what I have to say on this subject will qualify the remoteness of it; and this is the last time I will commit the crime of Prefaces, or trouble the world with my notions of any thing that relates to verse. I have then, as you see, observed the failings of many great wits among the moderns, who have attempted to write an epic poem: beside these or the like animadversions of them, or other men, there is yet a farther reason given, why they cannot possibly succeed so well as the ancients, even though we could allow them not to be inferior either in genius, or learning, or the tongue in which they write, or all those other wonderful qualifications which are necessary to the forming of a true accomplished heroic poet. The fault is laid on our religion: they say, that ‘ Christianity is not capable of those embellishments, which are afforded in the belief of those ancient heathens.’

\* Speaking of his Lordship's talents for verse, he says, “ We cannot subsist entirely without your writing, any more (I almost say) than the world without the daily course of ordinary Providence.”

‘ And it is true that, in the severe notions of our faith, the fortitude of a Christian consists in patience, and suffering for the love of God whatever hardships can befall in the world; not in any great attempts, or in performance of those enterprises which the poets call heroic, which are commonly the effects of interest, ostentation, pride, and worldly honours: that humility and resignation are our prime virtues, and that these include no action but that of the soul; whereas, on the contrary, an heroic poem requires to it’s necessary design, and as it’s last perfection, some great action of war, the accomplishment of some extraordinary undertaking, which requires the strength and vigour of the body, the duty of a soldier, the capacity and prudence of a general; and, in short, as much, or more of the active virtue, than the suffering. But to this the answer is very obvious. God has placed us in our several stations: the virtues of a private Christian are patience, obedience, submission, and the like; but those of a magistrate, or a general, or a king are prudence, counsel, active fortitude, coercive power, awful commands, and the exercise of magnanimity as well as justice. So that this objection hinders not but that an epic poem, or the heroic action of some great commander, enterprised for the common good and honour of the Christian cause, and executed happily, may be as well written now as it was of old by the heathens; provided the poet be endued with the same talents, and the language though not of equal dignity, yet as nearly approaching to it as our modern barbarism will allow; which is all that can be expected from our own or any other now extant, though more refined, and

therefore we are to rest contented with that only inferiority, which is not possibly to be remedied.

‘ I wish I could as easily remove that other difficulty, which yet remains. It is objected by a great French critic, as well as an admirable poet, yet living, and whom I have mentioned with that honour which his merit exacts from me (I mean Boileau) that ‘the machines of our Christian religion, in heroic poetry, are much more feeble to support the weight than those of heathenism.’ Their doctrine, grounded as it was on ridiculous fables, was yet the belief of the two victorious monarchies, the Grecian and Roman. Their gods did not only interest themselves in the event of wars, which is the effect of a superior Providence; but also espoused the several parties in a visible corporeal descent, managed their intrigues, and fought their battles sometimes in opposition to each other: though Virgil (more discreet than Homer in that last particular) has contented himself with the partiality of his deities, their favours, their counsels or commands to those whose cause they had espoused, without bringing them to the outrageousness of blows. Now our religion (says he) is deprived of the greatest part of those machines; at least, the most shining in epic poetry. Though St. Michael, in Ariosto, seeks out Discord to send her among the Pagans, and finds her in a convent of friars where peace should reign, which indeed is fine satire; and Satan, in Tasso, excites Solyman to an attempt by night on the Christian camp, and brings an host of devils to his assistance: yet the Archangel, in the former example, when Discord was restive and would not be drawn from her beloved monastery with fair words, has the whip hand of her, drags her out with many stripes,

sets her in God's name about her business, and makes her know the difference of strength betwixt a nuncio of heaven and a minister of hell. The same Angel, in the latter instance from Tasso (as if God had never another messenger belonging to the court, but was confined like Jupiter to Mercury, and Juno to Iris) when he sees his time, that is, when half of the Christians are already killed, and all the rest are in a fair way of being routed, stickles betwixt the remainder of God's host and the race of fiends; pulls the devils backward by the tails, and drives them from their quarry; or otherwise the whole business had miscarried, and Jerusalem remained untaken. This, says Boileau, is 'a very unequal match for the poor devils, who are sure to come by the worst of it in the combat; for nothing is more easy, than for an Almighty Power to bring his old rebels to reason when he pleases: consequently, what pleasure, what entertainment can be raised from so pitiful a machine, where we see the success of the battle from the very beginning of it; unless that, as we are Christians, we are glad that we have gotten God on our side to maul our enemies, when we cannot do the work ourselves? For, if the poet had given the faithful more courage, which had cost him nothing, or at least had made them exceed the Turks in number, then he might have gained the victory for us Christians without interesting Heaven in the quarrel; and that with as much ease, and as little credit to the conqueror, as when a party of one hundred soldiers defeats another which consists only of fifty.'\*

\* This reasoning, surely, applies to the *Vulcania Arma*, the Stygian immersions, &c. of the classical heroes.

‘ This, my Lord, I confess is such an argument against our modern poetry, as cannot be answered by those mediums which have been used. We cannot hitherto boast, that our religion has furnished us with any such machines, as have made the strength and beauty of the ancient buildings.

‘ But what if I venture to advance an invention of my own, to supply the manifest defects of our new writers? I am sufficiently sensible of my weakness; and it is not very probable that I should succeed in such a project, whereof I have not had the least hint from any of my predecessors the poets, or any of their seconds and coadjutors the critics. Yet we see the art of war is improved in sieges, and new instruments of death are invented daily: something new in philosophy and mechanics is discovered almost every year; and the science of former ages is improved by the succeeding. I will not detain you with a long preamble to that which better judges will, perhaps, conclude to be little worth.

‘ It is this, in short, that Christian poets have not hitherto been acquainted with their own strength. If they had searched the Old Testament as they ought, they might there have found the machines which are proper for their work; and those more certain in their effect, than it may be the New Testament is in the rules sufficient for salvation. The perusing of one chapter in the Prophecy of Daniel, and accommodating what there they find with the principles of Platonic philosophy as it is now Christianised, would have the ministry of angels as strong an engine for the working up of heroic poetry in our religion, as that of the ancients has been to raise theirs by all the fables of their gods, which were

received for truths by only the most ignorant and weakest of the people.

‘ It is a doctrine almost universally received by Christians, as well Protestants as Catholics, that there are Guardian Angels appointed by God Almighty as his vicegerents for the protection and government of cities, provinces, kingdoms, and monarchies; and those as well of heathens, as of true believers. All this is so plainly proved from those texts of Daniel, that it admits of no farther controversy. The Prince of the Persians, and that other of the Grecians, are granted to be the guardians and protecting ministers of those empires. It cannot be denied, that they were opposite, and resisted one another. St. Michael is mentioned by his name, as the patron of the Jews; and is now taken by the Christians, as the protector general of our religion. These tutelar genii, who presided over the several people and regions committed to their charge, were watchful over them for good, as far as their commissions could possibly extend. The general purpose and design of all was, certainly, the service of their great Creator. But it is an undoubted truth that, for ends best known to the Almighty Majesty of Heaven, his providential designs for the benefit of his creatures, for the debasing and punishing of some nations and the exaltation and temporal reward of others, were not wholly known to these his ministers: else why those factious quarrels, controversies, and battles among themselves, when they are all united in the same design, the service and honour of their common Master? But being instructed only in the general, and zealous of the main design, and as finite beings not admitted into the secrets of government, the last resorts of Provi-

dence, or capable of discovering the final purposes of God, who can work good out of evil as he pleases and irresistibly sways all manner of events on earth, directing them finally for the best to his creation in general and to the ultimate end of his own glory in particular; they must, of necessity, be sometimes ignorant of the means conducing to those ends, in which alone they can jar and oppose each other: one angel, as we suppose the Prince of Persia, as he is called, judging that it would be more for God's honour and the benefit of his people that the Median and Persian monarchy, when delivered from the Babylonish captivity, should still be uppermost; and the patron of the Grecians, to whom the will of God might be more particularly revealed, contending on the other side for the rise of Alexander and his successors, who were appointed to punish the backsliding Jews and thereby to put them in mind of their offences, that they might repent and become more virtuous and more observant of the law revealed. But how far these controversies and appearing enmities of those glorious creatures may be carried, how these oppositions may best be managed, and by what means conducted, is not my business to show or determine: these things must be left to the invention and judgement of the poet; if any of so happy a genius be now living, or any future age can produce a man, who being conversant in the philosophy of Plato, as it is now accommodated to Christian use—for (as Virgil gives us to understand by his example) he is the only proper person of all others for an epic poem, who to his natural endowments of a large invention, a ripe judgement, and a strong memory has joined the

knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly moral philosophy, the mathematics, geography, and history, and with all these qualifications is born a poet; knows and can practise the variety of numbers, and is master of the language in which he writes—if such a man, I say, be now arisen, or shall arise, I am vain enough to think that I have proposed a model to him, by which he may build a nobler, a more beautiful, and more perfect poem than any yet extant since the ancients.

‘ There is another part of these machines yet wanting; but, by what I have said, it would have been easily supplied by a judicious writer. He could not have failed to add the opposition of ill spirits to the good. They have also their design, ever opposite to that of Heaven; and this alone has, hitherto, been the practice of the moderns: but this imperfect system, if I may call it such, which I have given, will infinitely advance and carry farther that hypothesis of the evil spirits contending with the good. For, being so much weaker since their fall than those blessed beings, they are yet supposed to have a permitted power of God, of acting ill, as from their own depraved nature they have always the will of designing it: a great testimony of which we find in Holy Writ, when God Almighty suffered Satan to appear in the holy synod of the angels (a thing not hitherto drawn into example by any of the poets) and also gave him power over all things belonging to his servant Job, excepting only life.

‘ Now, what these wicked spirits cannot compass by the vast disproportion of their forces to those of the superior beings, they may by their fraud and can-



ning carry farther in a seeming league, confederacy, or subserviency to the designs of some good angel, as far as consists with his purity to suffer such an aid, the end of which may possibly be disguised and concealed from his finite knowledge. This is, indeed, to suppose a great error in such a being: yet, since a devil can appear like an angel of light; since craft and malice may sometimes blind, for a while, a more perfect understanding; and, lastly, since Milton has given us an example of the like nature, when Satan appearing like a cherub to Uriel (the Intelligence of the sun) circumvented him even in his own province, passing only for a curious traveller through those new-created regions, that he might observe therein the workmanship of God and praise him in his works: I know not why, upon the same supposition or some other, a fiend may not deceive a creature of more excellency than himself, but yet a creature; at least by the connivance, or tacit permission, of the Omniscient Being.

‘ Thus, my Lord, I have, as briefly as I could, given your Lordship, and by you the world, a rude draught of what I have been long labouring in my imagination, and what I had intended to have put in practice (though far unable for the attempt of such a poem); and to have left the stage, to which my genius never much inclined me, for a work which would have taken up my life in the performance of it. This, too, I had intended chiefly for the honour of my native country, to which a poet is particularly obliged: of two subjects, both relating to it, I was doubtful whether I should choose that of King Arthur \* con-

\* He afterward charged Blackmore with having taken the hint of his ‘ Arthur ’ from this passage, without “ acknowledg-

quering the Saxons, which being farther distant in time gives the greater scope to my invention: or that of Edward the Black Prince in subduing Spain, and restoring it to the lawful prince (though a great tyrant), Don Pedro the Cruel; which for the compass of time, including only the expedition of one year, for the greatness of the action and its answerable event, for the magnanimity of the English hero opposed to the ingratitude of a person whom he restored, and for the many beautiful episodes which I had interwoven with the principal design, together with the characters of the chiefest English persons—wherein, after Virgil and Spenser, I would have taken occasion to represent my living friends and patrons of the noblest families, and also shadowed the events of future ages in the succession of our imperial lines—with these helps, and those of the machines which I have mentioned, I might perhaps have done as well as some of my predecessors, or at least chalked out a way for others to amend my errors in a like design. But being encouraged only by fair words by King Charles II., my little salary ill-paid, and no prospect of a future subsistence, I was then discouraged in the beginning of my attempt: and now age has over-

ing his benefactor.” It had been, also, Milton’s favourite project,

— *indigenas evocare in carmine reges,  
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem;* (Mans.)

And to sing the

— *gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernem.*  
(Epitaph. Dam.)

Dryden himself had, previously, introduced the illustrious ‘British Worthy’ in an Opera.

taken me; and want, a more insufferable evil, through the change of times has wholly disabled me. Though I must ever acknowledge, to the honour of your Lordship and the eternal memory of your charity, that since this revolution, wherein I have patiently suffered the ruin of my small fortune, and the loss of that poor subsistence which I had from two Kings whom I had served more faithfully than profitably to myself; then your Lordship was pleased, out of no other motive but your own nobleness, without any desert of mine or the least solicitation from me, to make me a most bountiful present, which at that time, when I was most in want of it, came most seasonably and unexpectedly to my relief. That favour, my Lord, is of itself sufficient to bind any grateful man to a perpetual acknowledgement, and to all the future service which one of my mean condition can ever be able to perform. May the Almighty God return it for me, both in blessing you here, and rewarding you hereafter! I must not presume to defend the cause, for which I now suffer, because your Lordship is engaged against it: but the more you are so, the greater is my obligation to you for your laying aside all the considerations of factions and parties to do an action of pure disinterested charity. This is one among many of your shining qualities, which distinguish you from others of your rank: but let me add a farther truth, that without these ties of gratitude, and abstracting from them all, I have a most particular inclination to honour you, and if it were not too bold an expression to say, I love you. It is no shame to be a poet, though it is to be a bad one. Augustus Cæsar of old, and Cardinal Richelieu of late, would willingly have been such; and David and So-

lomon were such. You who without flattery are the best of the present age in England, and would have been so had you been born in any other country, will receive more honour in future ages by that one excellency, than for all those honours to which your birth has entitled you, or your merits have acquired.'

END OF VOL. IV.





